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#### TIME

#### A Letter from the Publisher

He was already in the boarding area at La Guardia Airport, his bags in hand, when the message came. No, he was not to fly off to Maine in pursuit of a story on as-

tronomy. On this Monday morning he was to hurry back to the Time-Life Building and begin work on a fascinating and complex medical story. Associate Editor Frederic Golden returned to his office and joined the other members of TIME's medicine team: Senior Editor Leon Jaroff and Reporter-Researchers Adrianne Jucius and F. Sydnor Vanderschmidt. Together they began to sift through the evidence and collect data for this week's cover story on the approaching birth of the world's first test-tube baby

Golden had a head start on the job. As an undergraduate at New York University, he had been a pre-med student until deciding that his interest in writing was so strong that his future was in journalism. Since joining TIME in 1967, Golden has written stories not only on medicine but science. Golden and picture of fetus environment and behavior as well. He feels this week's cover was his most challenging. Says Golden: "It hits aw-

fully close to home. It deals with the very beginning of life, and it also raises all sorts of fears we wanted to address The first obligation was to explain just what had happened -and what had not-but the story had other important di-

rumors.

mensions. The serious moral questions raised by conception in a laboratory are considered in a separate story; a second analyzes the differences between conception of a baby outside the mother's body and the technique of cloning. Another aspect of the story presented quite a different jour-

pers had bought the exclusive rights to publicize the event from the parents, and the doctors maintained complete secrecy as well. Under the direction of London Bureau Chief Bonnie Angelo. TIME's correspondents nonetheless managed to turn up firm facts on the sequestered Brown family and Drs. Patrick Steptoe and Robert Edwards. Correspondent Art White covered the Oldham hospital, where the birth will take place, and observed a kind of press corps Keystone Kops comedy in which "Newsmen frantically fertilized and reimplanted in their own papers the daily crop of

White did get through to the Steptoe home, but the cloistered doctor declined to be interviewed. Not one to be unkind, his wife reported that the doctor was, indeed, a TIME reader. Meanwhile, fortunately, the search for information on

both sides of the Atlantic had turned up the most important facts on one of the most important medical stories in years.

John a. Meyers

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Cover: As the first 'test-tube baby" is about to be born. many people are asking if this extraordiblessed-a boon to in fertile women-or the beginning of a Faustian nightmare. See MEDICINE



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# With an x-ray like this, you can have exploratory surgery without the surgery.

This is a new kind of x-ray picture. Hailed as being as important to medicine as the discovery of x-ray itself.

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see before without exploratory surgery, as in the case shown here.

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That slick tion. To able equipped able experiences

Chevrolet

based on manufacturers' suggested retail prices including dealer preparation. Tax, license, destination charges, and available equipment extra. Prices differ in California. So if you're looking for a sporty car, compare Chevy Monza to the foreign sports. It's quite

a car at quite a price. No matter what language you speak.

#### Letters

#### **Bakke Decision**

To the Editors:

Brayo Bakke [July 10]! When I fill out my college applications this fall. I firmly resolve not to fill in that absurd and archaic block marked Ethnic Group. Did I miss something in science class or do brains really come in two colors -black and white?

Camille Comeau Sparta, N.J.

The Supreme Court's ruling on the Bakke case seems to say that unadulterated race in quotas is unlawful but a dab of color mixed with other considerations is acceptable. It is like saying that saccharin is unacceptable in meeting the need for a sweetener but all right if mixed

with other ingredients. The Bakke decision should require a label stating that it may be injurious to

the mental health of users Wilbur F. Ensey Meadowlands, Minn.



What Bakke really means is blacks. no: whites, yes,

Kevin McCaffrey Highland, Ind

The decision of the Supreme Court in the Allan Bakke case was the only rational and just decision to be arrived at and was certainly not a defeat for the blacks or other minority groups. Rather it was clearly a victory for the individual. Diane Swanson Arlington, Mass.

It is indeed strange that on the very evening of the famous Bakke decision ABC-TV aired a frightening documentary. The film, titled Youth Terror, a View from Rehind the Gun, was about the millions of hopelessly lost and bitter minorities in the urban ghettos of this country

If that documentary accurately reflects the attitudes of these young people (I have no reason to think it does not). then dehating about the long-term implications of the Supreme Court's ruling on Regents vs. Bakke is like arguing over sundeck chairs on the Titanic David L. Evans, Senior Admissions Officer

Harvard-Radcliffe Cambridge, Mass.

Thanks to the Bakke case, minorities and females will have their pride restored. Whenever we are chosen for a job promotion or college admission we will have the confidence of knowing it is for our ability and not to fill a quota.

Patricia A. Buedel Madison, Wis.

Does Mr. Bakke speak Spanish and is he willing to treat the poor and disadvantaged in the barrios of America? Some of the Hispanic doctors that graduated under the Davis quota system are doing just that. With the U.S. Supreme Court ruling, discrimination in the professions will persist for another century. Ernest A. Lopez

Las Cruces, N. Mex

#### The Greatest Reporter

Teddy White's prose, as quoted in your Special Section, establishes for all time that Theodore H. White [July 3] is the greatest historical reporter of this or any other century.

Martin R. Reynolds Caracas Venezuela

What infuriates me, as a daughter of Britain and a student of Arthurian legend, is to read again in White about the audacity of the Kennedys in presenting that unspectacular Administration as "Camelot." It is an insult to those of us with sense enough to recognize a Madison Avenue promotion when we see one. and it is quite galling to see how the American press promotes this myth. Let the Kennedys and their "historians" fall back on the Blarney Stone, where they belong. Louise S. Brownlee Missoula, Mont.

I was only twelve years old when Jacqueline Kennedy sat by her husband and experienced the shock of seeing his destruction. She has been a national curiosity almost all my life

Not until Teddy White wrote about her recounting those events in Dallas did I truly feel the terrible pain and burden she has endured since that day. All else aside, she is a woman who can never take more than has been taken from her.

Kirk I. Kimball Washington, D.C.

While Mr. White was honest enough to admit that Chou En-lai was one of three men in whose presence he had "near-total suspension of disbelief or questioning judgment" and that Chou won his affec tion completely, the readers of his newest book and TIME's excerpts have no way of knowing what such suspension of disbelief or questioning judgment led to White's Thunder Out of China did more damage than Mao's guerrillas to the Nationalist government, then trying to grapple with the problems of a largely medieval country caught in the 20th century and ravaged by years of foreign invasion.

I-cheng Loh Jamaica Estates, N.Y.

I am grateful for In Search of History by Theodore White, especially his reference to the extraordinary program of Major General Claire Chennault to maintain the morale (if not the morals) of his Flying Tigers. As the Jewish chaplain of the China-Burma-India theater, I received with appreciation this telegram from the general at Ledo, Assam:

"Jewish men this organization anxious to observe Passover. Require matzos and wine. Also interested in good recipe for gefilte fish. Claire Chennault, CO Flying Tigers."

David J. Seligson New York City

#### **Prime Minister TIME?**

Your proposal for a Middle East peace [July 10] gives away East Jerusalem, the West Bank and Gaza in return for U.N. security with minimal Israeli involvement. All I can say is, thank God. Menachem Begin and not TIME will be negotiating the security of Israel for future generations.

Bruce Katz East Providence, R.I.

While there are many Jews who disagree with Mr. Begin and some of his "illogical" policies, I doubt if you could find any Jew in Israel or the Diaspora who would agree with your illogical suggestion that East Jerusalem should eventually be part of a Palestinian state. TIME, and the world for that matter, had better become reconciled to the fact that while most things are negotiable in the Middle East muddle, the city of Jerusalem is not one of them. It is ours forever. And that, Mr. Editor, Mr. Carter and Mr. Sadat, is the universal Jewish bottom line.

Chicago

How long should the U.N., the U.S. and peace between the Arabs and Israel be defied by Israel? Issues are at stake beyond Israel's internal politics. Is not the time drawing near when an "imposed settlement" will be the solution?

Franklin Courtney Ellis Winnetka, Ill.

#### The Privileged Press

It is shocking to see that a Supreme Court decision holding that a reporter from a newspaper is to be treated the same

#### Letters

way as any other citizen is particularly newsworthy [July 10]. What is "the press"? Is any person or organization who regularly publishes a journal or otherwise disseminates information entitled to the rights and privileges that have been claimed to belong to "the press"? If that were the case, participants in organized crime should publish newspapers so that they may gain special access to examine iails and avoid lawful searches

James E. Mitchem Denver

It is particularly awful that the California prison Little Greystone should form the backdrop for the Supreme Court's ruling, for there seem to be none but bad reasons for keeping secrets in that case. The question to my mind is not whether reporters "have more rights" than I to government data, but whether those data should be withheld at all from

Few ideas can be received if no information can be obtained

Thomas Westervelt Pittsburgh

#### **CARE Packets for America**

I was not surprised to read your article on inflation [June 19]. I have always hoped (and known), that the day would come when Americans would have to pay for their ridiculous waste of natural resources. It seems to me that the day is

As a result of this and the neglect of social welfare in the U.S., the real living standard in many European countries is already far higher than in the U.S. I'm especially thrilled by the fact that nowadays CARE packets are being sent to our poor American friends who happen to be soldiers, stationed abroad, of an Army that cannot even afford to pay its members adequately. God bless you, America! Jan-Dirk Voet Munich

#### Clone Jackson

Three cheers for the Rev. Jesse Jackson for his advice to black students [July 10]! He should be cloned in order to deliver his message to every high school in the nation.

(Mrs.) Ann Meehan Shrewsbury, N.J.

A great article on the Rev. Mr. Jackson. Several years ago I agreed with very little he said, now I'm behind him 100%. Has he changed-or have I? Vladimir A. Pospisil

New Braunfels, Texas

If black students in many public schools get out of the halls and into the classrooms, and pay attention to what is going on, the issue of affirmative action in American education might soon be-

6

come moot. Thanks to the splendid efforts of Jesse Jackson and others, the situation is improving.

Richard G. Augenblick Arlington, Va.

#### A White Elephant

I trust that prospective builders will heed the lesson of the U.S. Supreme Court regarding Grand Central Terminal [July 10]. Obviously, one should erect nothing original or traceable to a specific architect. Otherwise, in 65 years, your children, grandchildren, successors or assigns may not be permitted to remodel or tear down your "work of art" to make more practical or profitable use of your land. They will be stuck with a relic.

Our cultural need to preserve works of art need not be denied. However, when the art is a monumental white elephant (no matter how artistic), the cost should be borne by the public sector.

Earl A. Bake

#### **Upset Chinese**

It's a real joke to read that the ethnic Chinese in Viet Nam are upset at the government for confiscating their property and ending free enterprise [July 3]

What are these people to expect when they reach Communist China-property rights and free enterprise?

Ernest R. Tison Westville, III.

#### How About It?

About the Japanese economic growth [June 26], I am sure that most Americans misunderstand the situation. Yes, I agree that the Japanese economy is an export-led one, but every American must also know that the U.S. is a consumer's economy. So if the American people do not reduce their consumption, I will not be surprised when the exchange rate between the two countries is 1 yen to 200 U.S. dollars. How about that? Tsan-huang Huang

Gainesville, Fla.

#### Motivated by the Buck

If anyone objects to Jimmy Breslin's statement [July 2] that "The No. 1 reason any professional writes is to pay the bills," he should be informed that Dr. Samuel Johnson put it even more strongly (on April 5, 1776) when he said, "No man but a blockhead ever wrote, except for money." Boswell disagreed, but perhaps some feel that he is still covered by Johnson's claim.

John A. Rea Lexington, Ky.

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TIME, JULY 31, 1978



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#### **American Scene**

#### In Ann Arbor: The Guns of July

The resinous scent of hot green summer flowed in waves across the sprawling north campus of the University of Michigan. But the obsessed, drifting in and out of the five-building brick residence complex perched above Ann Arbor, hardly noticed. This was a weekend devoted to the joys of combat.

The occasion was Origins 78, the fourth U.S. national war gamers' conference. For 72 hours, some 3,600 hobbyists, exhibitors and camp followers milled and argued, chattered and competed in a giant tournament. To Paul Wood, 35, chief conference organizer and president of the hosting club, Metro Detroit Gamers, the event was as simple as a military tune: "It's nice to get together, drink a few beers, and have a good time combatting each other." In fact, the whole affair was as complex as, well, a war. All weekend, participants were indulging in the seductive impulse to establish their very own rules for the world. Not only could they alter history, they could control destiny. What Walter Mitty could resist?

Perched on a sunny concrete patio of Bursley Hall, the dormitory hub, Vincent Bertolino, 19, and Chris Nadolny, 16, schemed to carve up the Third Reich. Between them was a stylized map of Germany, replete with rivers, hills and other obstacles. Equipped with cardboard counters representing military units, Vincent took the role of Russian Supreme Commander in 1945. Chris was his American equivalent. The object was to bash away at Nazi forces-and then grab as much territory as they could. "It's an intellectual thing," explained Chris, a high school junior from Morristown, N.Y. "I've always had an interest in military his-He supports his interest, immoderately, with more than 100 similar board games; spends an average of 30 hours a month playing with them; and hopes to go to West Point after graduating from high school.

The major part of tournament action took place indoors, in recreation rooms, cafeterias and dormitory rooms, even though university administrators had turned off the air conditioning for the summer. On the steamy second floor of Bursley Hall, Mark Wellington, 30. pushed hundreds of miniature soldiers along carefully tape-measured distances in a table-top replay of an engagement on the eve of Waterloo. The rules of the intricate contest filled two sturdy binders. each about an inch thick. "It's based on what might have happened if Napoleon had pursued Wellington an hour earlier than he did," said Mark. "We're replaying it under two sets of weather circumstances. In one case, the British have held the French off. In this other one, the British have escaped with their lives."

Wellington-the living one and no kin -is a stockbroker from Fort Wayne. Ind. As a miniaturist war gamer, meaning one who uses realistic figures, not counters, he is considered one of the hobby's aristocrats. With good reason. All of the 600 or so figures on his table, each about 2 in. tall. were painstakingly hand-painted in the exact regimental colors and insignia of the period. The cost of the miniatures is about \$1.75 per man. Wellington meets other armchair generals about three times a year. Object: large-scale wars involving as many as 4,000 figures. "I guess it's an attempt to get at the playing at tin soldiers that's left in us," he theorized. "Left in us? What am I saying? That's all it is."



War gamer eyeing Napoleonic miniatures
What Walter Mitty could resist?

At the next table, JoEllen Burton, 25, of Dayton studied a rule book while her husband, Jack, helped field-marshal a 15th century Franco-Austrian war. She too is a war gamer. "It was either that or be alone." she confessed. "I finally decided that it's his hobby, so why not get into it?" War gaming is still a bastion of male chauvinism, apparently. JoEllen's actful explanation is that "too many men good at it. The group I'm in at home has been very realtent with me."

Down in the lobby, Kim Gillette, 25, another member of the tiny female contingent, recounted a fintasy game she had just left. "The plants had a death spread for the property of the plants had a death spread for the game, Gamma World, is a futuristic (post-nuclear holocaust) contest in which participants adopt the characteristics and hostilities of humans and aliens. "It's a lot more excitting than Monopoly." the ever some face lump on no yet in Monopoly.

A recently laid-off teacher of English composition from Brockton, N.Y. Kim is also a member of an outfit called the Society for Creative Anachronism. with a "couple of hundred" confreres scattered across the Northeast. Medieval buffs, they engage in "wars, feasts and revels" at appropriate times of the year. Kim seems to own her own time machine. She also likes to play with microarmor: tiny scale models of tanks. A few hours after her fatal accident in Gamma World, she was marshaling miniature armies of dwarfs and orcs in a battle based on J.R.R. Tolkien's fantasy classic, The Lord of the Rings. This was not a good weekend for Kim; her side, the dwarfs, was annihilated.

Not far away. Charles Carrico. 36, huddled over a felt-covered table representing European terrain. Carrico knows a bit more about combat than his fellow fantassits. In real life, he is an operations officer at the battle-simulation center at Fort Carson, Colo. home of the U.S. 4th Infantry Division. The captain was part of a five-man group flown to Ann Arbor in the personal staff plane of Fort Carson's commanding officer, Major General John Forrest.

11 The Army has been placing a lot of emphasis on battle simulations," said Carrico. "It decreases the cost of maneuvers and also increases expertise. The thought was that by spreading our expertise around, we might induce some of these guys into the military. among other things. We also thought we might pick up a few ideas for our own simulations." Carrico and his colleagues gave the civilian amateurs high marks for their skills at play-fighting. Said Lieut. Bill Bradburn, 25, a field-artillery officer: "Some of them are amazingly adept. They have a tremendous grasp of some of the theory and doctrine that is taught in the Army. They keep very current. Some of them seem to have a steady information pipeline to the active military." But Bradburn also detected a weakness in the civilians' knowledge of artillery tactics-which his team was about to exploit.

When the guns finally fell silent in Ann Arbor, the battlefields were littered with cigarette butts, empty Coke bottles and hot dog wrappers. The victors trooped home bearing 69 engraved plaques and 252 runners-up certificates (the Fort Carson Army group suitably took first prize in the NATO armored battle simulation). Outside, on the paties, a few last stragger of the company of the paties, a few last stragger of the company of the paties and the suit of the paties. It is not that the paties are also still the paties are also still time to get in one last war. — Geografiusself



TIME JULY 31, 1978

# A Problem Of How To Lead

Dissatisfaction is the Washington mood

lying high over Germany on his recent state visit. Jimmy Carter received an urgent message from the steward of Air Force One—three of the President's aides said they had to see him immediately. The President agreed. What now? What new crisis could have arisen?

In came Hamilton Jordan, Jody Powell and Jerry Rafshoon, their arms linked like those of chorus girls. They chanted their urgent message: "The sky is falling!

The sky is falling

The startled President laughed heartily, but the burlesque was not entirely a joke. What confronted Jimmy Carter last week as he returned to Washington from the glittering pomp of his talks with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the economic summit in Bonn was the harsh fact that his presidency is in deep trouble. His Oval Office In box was overflowing with problems: mounting inflation, the energy deadlock, the failure of tax reform, the Turkish arms embargo, the chill in relations with the Soviet Union. There was even an embarrassing furor over the discovery that White House Health Adviser Dr. Peter Bourne had written an improper drug prescription. Surveying the jumble of problems, a key presidential adviser remarked: "If only we could have stayed in Germany.

But it is more than difficulties with specific problems that plagues the Administration and prompts the Chicken Little Horus. There is a mounting mood in Washington that the Carter presidency any be fundamentally flawed and that the Chief Executive may, despite his widely respected intelligence and dedication, be unable to lead the nation effectively. His apprenticeship has already lasted too long, according to a number of good before he becomes a skillful practitioner of Washington politics. Public opinion surveys have chronicled a fairly steady surveys have chronicled a fairly steady surveys have chronicled as fairly steady



slide in presidential popularity—from a peak of 75% of those queried by the Gallup poll approving his handling of the presidency in March 1977 to only 44% approving this May. With growing frequency, Washington insiders speculate that Jimmy Carter may in fact occupy the White House for just one term of the property of the White House for just one term.

It is not unusual for a President to falter as he approaches mid-term, and this has to be especially true in an era of unprecedented media exposure. The once fresh face and crisp, new manner have become familiar as the local grocer's. What may have been entertaining idiosyncrasies, like Truman's salty language. Eisenhower's chronic gofing and Carter's reflexive grin, can become slightly irritating. No longer larger than life, as on the triumphant eve of Inauguration, the mid-term President starts looking all too vulnerably human.

But the criticism now assailing Carter exceeds such predictable norms, and it comes from all quarters. While Republicans hungry for gains in this Novem-

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ber's elections are understandably harsh so are many members of the President's own party. Complains one prominent Democrat: "Things continue to fall apart, A year ago we were saying that pretty soon Jimmy Carter would take hold of things. Six months ago we were saying that pretty soon Jimmy Carter would take hold of things. Now we are saving that pretty soon Jimmy Carter had damn well better take hold of things." Some Democratic congressional leaders in particular warn that they have just about given up on the President. Says one top congressional insider, gloomier and grouchier than most: "The possibility of rapport is gone. Like a bad marriage, it's just gone sour beyond repair." Dissatisfaction and discouragement are showing up even inside the White House, with key staffers complaining about the sloppy way the Ad-

ministration is being run It is Carter's style of leading that may be at the heart of the problem. Although he is Chief of State of the world's most powerful nation. he seems more comfortable wearing his famed cardigan than the mantle of presidential leadership. Perhaps in an attempt to avoid the trappings and pitfalls of the imperial presidency. Carter has been too reluctant to assert himself, to lean on people, to operate, in a sense, with the ruffles and flourishes that this one job of all in the U.S. may demand. As admirable a trait as this may be in many callings, it clearly can be a serious liability for a President who sometimes has no weapon but sheer intimidation to reconcile conflicting interests or to overcome congressional and bureaucratic opposition. It is partly this that has prompted Speaker of the House Tip O'Neill to complain in private lately about Carter's failure to understand the nature of the presidency.

arter often seems unwilling to offend his close advisers. Partly as a result, the Administration has taken inconsistent or variable stands on a number of important issues. Examples: It first advocated and then dropped a \$50per-person tax rebate: it originally warned Americans that the need to save energy was the moral equivalent of war, then claimed that its energy program would not be much of a burden because it would cut costs to consumers: it enraged the Israelis and confused the Arabs by its tangled statements about the Palestinians. Such irritating zigzagging has led one Democratic Senator to observe: "For a while, everyone spent a lot of time just trying to figure him out. It can't be done. We've given up

The White House staff reflects Carter's lack of success as a Government manager Hamilton Jordan is the President's senior adviser and is sometimes regarded as chief of staff. In fact, however, no one has that title and function, or even a standing mandate to keep things moving by cracking the whip over his colleagues. Major assignments rotate from office to office, and much is handled on an ad hoc basis. Explains a high Administration official: "The problem is not the decisions we make, but how we make them and how they are made public. Jimmy Carter consults everyone, and there is no one coordinating and making sure there is focus.

Much of the White House's poor performance, according to this official, is the fault of the "Kiddie Korps." This is the group of relatively young men and women who have been given key Government jobs by Domestic Affairs Adviser Stuart Eizenstat, 35, because of their help in getting Carter elected. Explaining that many of these Kiddies proceeded directly from college campuses to the campaign, the official claims: "They had very little experience and brought along all that baggage from the campaign. Decision making in the Administration has thus become BOGSAAT-a bunch of guys sitting around a table." Adds another Administration aide: "The White House, with the exception of Vice President Mondale. is full of very inexperienced people." The tightly knit and provincial Georgia Mafia, which dominates the staff and enjoys the best access to the President, has slowed Carter's integration into the Washington scene and has limited his effectiveness

Nowhere has the White House's lack of experience hurt more than in its rea virtue during his campaign) has made cooperation between the two branches even harder

During Carter's first year in office, the White House seemed chronically insensitive to congressional egos and needs. Leading Congressmen were slighted socially, liaison was poor and the possibilities of horse trading were ignored. This situation has improved: the liaison staff has been strengthened and Congressmen have been more skillfully courted. As a result, the Administration was able to rally enough wavering legislators to ensure ratification of the Panama Canal treaties and to approve the controversial sale of military aircraft to Israel, Egypt and Saudi Arabia, both major Carter victories.

ut serious problems between the two branches of Government remain. According to Administration critics, the White House still fails to consult adequately with key Congressmen before measures are sent to Capitol Hill. Once new programs are proposed, the White House does not do a good enough job lobbying for them-recognizing once again how difficult that is with such a fractionalized and obdurate Congress

The Administration's leadership difficulties have contributed to its very spotty performance in significant areas:

The Economy, By some important mea



true that any President would find it extraordinarily difficult to control or even work smoothly with today's independent and assertive Congress. Dissatisfaction over the past Administration's handling of the Viet Nam War and Watergate has enhanced Congress's powers and sense of independence. Congress now has far greater authority over the budget, Government priorities and foreign policy than it had five years ago. But the incumbent Administration's ignorance of Washington's ways (something Carter elevated to

sures, the nation's economy is doing well. The gross national product during this year's second quarter grew at a 7.4% annual rate; for all of 1978, it is expected to expand about 4%. This is a veritable boom compared with the sluggish growth rate of almost every other Western country. The job picture is almost as good, with unemployment down from 7.4% when Carter took office to 5.7% now. During this same period. 4 million new jobs have been created and a record-breaking 64.3% of the population is now at work. It is in-

dicative of the Administration's image problem that it has not received the credit it probably has earned for combatting joblessness. In a recent poll. 68% of the respondents gave the Administration an undeserved negative rating on the unemployment issue

Darkly clouding the economic picture, however, is inflation, currently surging ahead at an annual rate of 11.3%, far ahead of last year's 6.8%. Prices began soaring long before Carter took office and are caused by a number of factors over which he has little control, among them the world cost of oil. But he must take some of the responsibility for the new surge Carter seriously underplayed the inflationary threat while he concentrated on cutting unemployment. Bowing to pressure from organized labor last July. he accepted a substantial hike in the minimum wage (\$2.30 to \$2.65 per hour) even though he was warned that it would be highly inflationary. Also contributing to



Carter confers with West Germany's Schmidt Mixed economic and diplomatic signals

the rising cost of living was the huge Administration-sponsored hike in Social Security payroll taxes.

The Administration, moreover, seems to lack an authoritative economic voice. Treasury Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal supposedly charts the course of the nation's economy, but Robert Strauss is the Administration's anti-inflation ezar. and he reports to Carter rather than Blumenthal. To make matters worse, the President occasionally seems to endorse whatever economic policies were advocated by the person who spoke to him last. The result: 18 months of mixed signals that have confused businessmen, tradeunion chiefs and foreign leaders

No coherent economic policy is possible without a national energy program. While the President has rightfully blamed special-interest groups for bottling up the energy bill since he sent it to Congress 15 months ago, he shares responsibility for the long delay. The complex. 114-page

#### "I've Never Won an Argument with Her"

She would be, some said, a sort of assistant President, a secpose and influence. But after 18 months in the White House. Rosalvan Carter remains something of an enigma, her public statements rare, her public activities largely ignored. She seems to be the First Lady nobody knows

On the Carters' trip to Germany, Rosalynn delighted the burgomaster of Linz by grabbing his arms and rushing him into a polka-like Schunkeltanz in the street. She captivated Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's wife. Loki, who invited herself along on sightseeing tours in Bonn. But Mrs. Carter's ambitions and influence in more substantial areas remain difficult to assess. "Rosalynn is still uncertain what to do and how to do it." says Mary King, her friend and deputy director of ACTION. "She has not found the ideal mesh between her personality and her interests, and the institu-

Rosalynn in her East Wing office "I can disagree when I disagree

tion of the First Lady. The Carters have strikingly similar back-grounds. She. 100, was born and grew up in Plains, Ga., where her fother use a mechanic He died when she was 13, and she helped to oversee the three younger children while her mother worked. She married Jimmy when she was 18, and he, at 21, had just emerged from Annapolis to begin a seven-year naval career. When they returned to Plains, she kept the books for his peanut and fertilizer business, while raising four children Throughout, her inner toughness was being strengthened.

At the White House, Mrs. Carter started out with some éclat, setting forth in June 1977 on a 13-day, seven-nation tour of Latin America. There was some criticism of a presidential wife's playing diplomat, but she demonstrated considerable knowledge of the area and concern for its problems. My talks saved Jimmy a lot of time," she told Washington Correspondent Johanna McGeary last week, "because he can pick up where I left off." There were other criticisms. though, of such foibles as her creation of a special seal for her trip. Says one longtime acquaintance: "Rosalynn revels in the servants and the service. She gets a thrill out of hobnob-

bing with celebrities. Back in Washington. Mrs. Carter got down to work on her major public project so far: her leadership of a presidential commission on mental health-and found that the press paid very little attention. She spent some 300 hours in meetings devoted to improving the care of mental patients, and she painstakingly studied and refined the commission's 117 long-range recommendations, all designed to place a higher national priority on mental health and, at the same time, shift more patients from large state hospitals to smaller, less institutionalized community centers She also persuaded the President to authorize \$300 million for community mental Taking a tennis lesson last week health programs, over



An old-fashioned dedication

program was so hastily drafted it almost invited the legislators to rewrite it. Among its most controversial features is its re-liance on conservation rather than development of new energy sources. Carter's program rests on Government action and the use of taxes rather than the market-place's supply-and-demand mechanism.

Foreign Policy. In a number of areas, Carter deserves high marks. By swinging the U.S. dramatically behind black majority rule in southern Africa, the Administration has won the respect of moderate black African leaders and improved the chances of a peaceful transfer of power in Southwest Africa (Namibia). By successfully pushing for the Panama Canal treaties. Carter accomplished something that four previous Administrations had postponed. In the Middle East, the most dramatic moves have been made not by the U.S. but by Egyptian President Anwar Sadat. However, Carter and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance have carefully strengthened the U.S. role as an honest



Brzezinski at the Bonn summit
Zigging and zagging with the Russians.

broker to whom both Israel and moderate Arab states can turn.

In other areas, however, Carter has appeared less adept. Stung and bailled by the appearance of Cubans as an influence in Afrisa, the White House has alternate-instantion failed to offer conclusive evidence for its charge that Cubans were deeply involved in the recent invasion of Zatire by Katanges rebels. For many observers, il seemed a risk of presidential evidence for its recent invasion of many observers. Il seemed a risk of presidential evidence from the controversy and indecemented controversy.

Carter's most questionable foreign policy performance has been his handling of U.S.-Soviet relations. His early penchant for open diplomacy and drastic cuts in the superpowers' muclear arsenals, almost immediately three Moscow off balance and probably slowed the pace of the Strategic Arms. Limitation Talkis (SAUT). He remains an advocate likely to make that kind of negotiating

the strong opposition of the Office of Management and Budget. She professes unconcern about the lack of public attention to her efforts. Says she: "I haven't worked on an image. My purpose is not so much to be visible as to do a good job."

In doing her job. Mrs. Carter is highly organized, self-disciplined and trieses. Every minute is made to count. She does her homework and she is persistent. She does not hesitate to worked quietly behind the scenes in behalf of the Equal Rights Amendment. She is now organizing a new programinspired indirectly by an offland remark by former Federal Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, to encourage more private Reserve Chairman Arthur Burns, to encourage more private programize and then publicize specific local projects in the hope that the best of them will be copied. Says she: "I can show that I care. And I can focus attention on these people who don't think the Government cares." The program will begin chaired by Mrs. Carter.

Yet the results of all this energy have been almost negligible. It is with her influence as a wife, more than in her public role, that she has had the most impact. She serve to an unusual degree, as a critical sounding board for the or an unusual degree, as a critical sounding board for the cevents and Carter holds back little at their lunches, or eventing walks, or after tennis they play frequently, she took up the game a year ago). Says Mrs. Carter. "We are close, and I do question the things he does. It's important to question him, argue with him, about whether this is the right thing to do or disastee without hesitation, and this's good."

White House insiders are split as 'to whether Rosalynn actually influences her husband's policy decisions. Most believe she simply raises questions from an intuitive, common-sense perspective, helping him to clarify his thinking. She's strong feelings about things. 'Another puts it more bluntly strong feelings about things.' Another puts it more bluntly "She is very opinionated. 'Frequently consulted in the President's speech drafting, Mrs. Carrier says: 'If I can't understand something, then the American public is certainly not going to understand it either.' But she missis, 'I don't consultation of the control o

alynn never really offers specific policy advice. "She would not be so presumptuous," says this source. "And he would cut her off at the knees if she were."

Others are not so certain. Claims one occupant of the White House West Wing: "If you want Jimmy to do something, you'd better get Rosallynn on your side first." And Carter has confided smillingly to at least one staffer: "I've never won an argument with her, and the only times! I thought! I had, I found out the argument wasn't over pt.

Yet all agree that Rosalynn's interests are dedicated in a very old-fishioned way to furthering her husband's career. It was her idea to bring in Geraid Rafshoon as a staffer in an effort to reverse the decline in the President's prestige. A sharp apprisiter of people and their talents, prestige. A sharp apprisiter of people and their talents, says Kraft. "Jimmy places the greatest stock in her judgments of people. Her word is gospel." Adds Press Secretary Jody Powell: "Her political judgment is very good. She senses repercussions, impact, the way things come acress, very well." With characteristic candor, Power of the property of the property

There is, in fact, a bit of friction between presidential aides in the West Wing, where Powell and others now admit they have tended to underestimate Mrs. Carter's considerable potential, and the East Wing, where Mrs. Carter's staff would like her to get more attention, and yet, contrarily, overprotects her from the press, which she is quite capable of handling with a Southern combination of firmness and grace. Concedes Fowell: "We less thaven't done the job we could have in utilizing her, We've been so caught up in fairs. Adviser State Eigenstat was recently invited by Mrs. Carter to a meeting to help plan her new urban volunteer program, he sent a socretary instead to

Undaunted, Mrs. Carter keeps in touch with what goes on beyond her surprisingly bare desk in a small unprrtentious East Wing office. She slips into Cabinet meetings and high-level briefings, like he one held this month by Vice President Walter Mondale on his return from a Middle East trip. "It yr to stay knowledgeable." she explains. "I just try to keep up with what is happening." Then, in her unit way, she leils Carter what she thinks. And he listens.

mistake with the Russians again. Fulfilling his worthy campaign pledge to conduct a "moral" foreign policy. Carter has strongly championed human rights, including those of Soviet dissidents. This has enhanced the nation's moral stature in many parts of the globe but has also enraged the Kremlin and contributed little toward easing the plight of those suffering from Soviet repression. Despite U.S. protests, the Kremlin ruthlessly tried and sentenced Dissidents Anatoli Shcharansky and Alexander Ginzburg. To back up his rhetoric. Carter presumably felt that he had to retaliate, and last week he canceled the sale of a computer to the U.S.S.R. and threatened to block transfers

itol Hill. But efforts to enact even the truncated \$14 billion version collapsed last month. Parts of the urban program have not even been sent to Congress. The National Development Bank, intended to underwrite businesses in economically depressed areas, stands no chance of being put to a floor vote before Congress recesses. The hospital cost control bill, designed to limit cost increases to 9% per year, was gutted last week

How much at fault is Carter for his uneven record on these issues? Certainly not completely. Congress has on many occasions proved balky and ineffectual. So has the vast bureaucracy. As the nation has grown more centralized and complex, the

what looked like a temptation to hunker down in dismal self-pity. It has begun working hard to improve its image and revamp its management techniques The Administration's capacity for following through on its program proposals has been holstered by the promotions of Tim Kraft and Anne Wexler to important White House staff positions. Public Relations Expert Jerry Rafshoon has been put to work full time to burnish Carter's image. Carter has concluded that he has

made many of his mistakes by ignoring his instincts and compromising instead of standing firm. As an example, his aides point to his reluctant backing of the generous minimum wage law. Not only did

ii fuel inflation and anger business. but it failed to win much gratitude from union leaders. The tougher "new" Carter has also been taking on Congress publicly, attacking it-accurately enough-for being slow upresponsive and susceptible to pressures from special interests.

While this strategy may pay dividends, it has its hazards. The public may find II hard to buy the idea of a presidential David locked in combat with a congressional Goliath when Congress is controlled by the President's party. There is a limit to how much public relations can accom-

plish Notes Ted Van Dyk, a longtime aide to the late Hubert Humphrey Image flows from policies and performance. If they aren't good, no imagemaker can repair the situation.

Indeed, only Jimmy Carter can make those repairs. In the American political system of checks and balances among competing interests, he must recognize that the Chief Executive can be effective only if he finds a way to lead vigorously To do this, he must combine long-range vision with tough management and a willingness to engage in political give and take In all these areas, despite great personal assets. Carter still has a way to go



"The sky is falling! The sky is falling!

of advanced oil drilling equipment. As m many other policy matters. Carter's approach to the Soviet Union has appeared inconsistent. In part, this is a result of the complexity of the superpower relationship But it also probably reflects Carter's inability so far to reconcile the conflicting views of his

two key foreign policy advisers: Cyrus Vance, who generally favors dealing with Moscow in a quiet and conciliatory manner, and National Security Affairs Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. who by and large advocates a tougher line The Vance-Brzezinski differences, though firmly denied by the White House, affect much of the handling of foreign policy Brzezinski's aides are often angry over what they regard as the State Department's unresponsiveness, its constant leaks and its ill will toward them. State Department officials feel much the same about the NSC

Social Reforms. Carter has been unsuccessful so far in his attempts at major change. even though some of his programs have been praiseworthy His highly touted welfare reform, originally an ambitious \$20 billion effort to revamp the nation's tangled and scandal-ridden welfare system. was trimmed back by the President because of the cost-cutting mood on Cappublic has unrealistically begun to expect its President to solve an increasing number of intractable problems

But Carter's share of the blame is significant. Though intelligent, he has noteworthy lapses of judgment, especially about people. His intense loyalty to his staff makes him reluctant to fire those who may have served him well in his campaign but have demonstrated limited ability at the national level. (No Administration in recent memory has been so close to the mid-term mark with so few significant personnel changes as Carter's has i Finally, his deep moralism and evangelistic background at times seem to have persuaded him that it is enough to preach the good word or introduce the good program without having to follow through with hard political pressures.

The White House at last seems aware of its shortcomings and has fought off

eports TIME White House Correspondent Laurence | Barrett "It took more than a year for the diagnosis to be made, and it will be a few more months before we know whether the medicine suffices. There is a feeling in Washington that these are crucial months, that the White House has a limited time in which to recover if Carter is not to be a one-term President Carter's aides insist that he feels neither panic nor despair, that he is simply determined to pursue his policies more effectively and energetically than before, believing that sooner or later this will pay off The President still has his sense of humor, more of one than he is generally credited with. as well as his sense of purpose, or so it is said. As Jody Powell sums it up. 'He'll have to stand or fall on what he's really like He's got his particular style of onerating of leadership, and in the long run he'll be judged on that, up or down.



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#### The Wrong R for Peter Bourne

He writes a prescription for trouble and has to resign

Just 36 hours after a swirr of publicity broke has week over White House Health Policy Advisor Dr. Peter Bourne, 38. his letter of resignation landed with an unwelcome thump upon the desk of his attendy blosupacerd frend. Just one after a proper state of the property of

The Bourne affair began as a routine drug arrest. Physical Therapist Toby Long. 26. asked a pharmacist in Woodbridge. Va., a hamlet 25 miles south of Washington, D.C., to fill a prescription. The prescription called for 15 tablets of Quaalude, a potent sedative that is sometimes prescribed for insomnia and frequently abused because of its mythical properties as an aphrodisiac. By chance, a state pharmacy inspector. Kathleen Watt, was in the store and decided to verify Long's prescription. When she tried to call the doctor who had written it and found that the doctor's phone had been disconnected. Watt summoned police. The officers learned that the patient's name on the prescription was fictitious. and arrested Long

The case saddenly became more than routine more it was known that the doctor who had prescribed the drug was Bourne. Carter's chief adviser on mental health and narcotice policies. In 1970, white Bourne was working as a psychiatrist in Atlanta, then Governor Carter appointed him to head Goorgia's office of drug abuse. Bourne later became one of the first aids to urge Carter to run for of the first aids to urge Carter to run for one of the first aids to urge Carter to run for one of the first aids to urge Carter to run for one of the first aids to urge Carter to run for the first aids can be used to the St. 1009-a-year White House position last year: the President described him as "probably the world's foremost experiments" of the president described him as "probably the world's foremost experiments" on heroin, cocaine and marijuana—even



Metsky in happler days (1976)
Protecting her privacy



Bourne outside his house in Washington Hanging in means more people go after you.

alcohol-all the drugs that are bad." Bourne's involvement in a drug case. however minor, shocked the White House. At first Carter's aides agreed to let the psychiatrist try to ride out the controversy. On Wednesday Bourne took a paid leave of absence. He later explained: "I didn't want to create the kind of situation Bert Lance had. The more you hang in. the more people go after you I will resolve it and come back." Bourne also issued a statement justifying his conduct: he had written a prescription for one of his aides. Ellen Metsky, 25, who was suffering from insomnia, and had used a pseudonym to protect her privacy

Bourne contended that what he had done was "neither legally nor morally wrong." But legal experts say that he actually violated both federal and state laws by failing to use Metsky's name on the prescription. In a separate statement, Metsky claimed that, because she was busy, she asked a friend. Toby Long, to have the prescription filled on the way home from her job in Virginia.

But then Columnist Jack Anderson disclosed that Bourne had used occaine at a party given last year by the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws, a lobbying group that advocates repeal of the penalties for smoking pot. Although Bourne denied Anderson's ac-

count of the incident. TINE has confirmed it. The party was held in a renovated town house in central Washington. At one point, according to some of the guests. Bourne went into a bedroom, sniffed some coke through a rolled-up dollar bill and smoked some marijuana.

Next. White House Press Secretary Jody Powell, under pressure from reporters, disclosed that Bourne had prescribed frugs on the occasions for alling White House detections of the control of the control

Meanwhile, Bourne added to his problems by telling, New York Times Reporter James Wosten that there was 'a high incidence' of marijuana and occasional cocaine use among members of the White House staff. Said Powell: 'I don't have any knowledge of it." A handful of junior White House addes were later quoted as saying that they did smoke marijuana in "recreational!" hours outside the White House, and that they knew of a few colleagues who occasionally used cocaine

The use of both drugs has become fairy common, even fashionable, among young, upper-middle-class professionals, including some journalists. In Washington and the nation's larger cities According to White House andes, Carter sternly disapproves of such drug use. Jody Foxsell, the Proceedings and the property of the provided of the property of the proteed of the property of the proteed of the

As the controversy grew. Bourne again consulted with Jordan and Powell, and this time decided to resign. He did not talk with Carter and was not forced to quit, aides said, but no one tried to talk min out of leaving either. In his letter of resignation, Bourne told Carter that here agarded himself as having become "an instrument through which others attempt to bring disflavor to you."

A week's end the hapless Toby Long was free on \$3.000 bail. and Prince William County Prosecutor Paul Blert had threatened to bring charges against Bourne, even though most medical and only a technical offense Said the Drug Enforcement Administration's Donald willier "I just don't believe that Congress ever contemplated or intended that a single incidence of using a pseudony not as the property of the property

Bourne was not waiting around to find ou. After announcing his resignation, he boarded a plane with his wife and took off for an undisclosed location, leaving the White House to deal with the drug usage questions he had raised.

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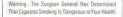
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## There are 108 ways the English keep dry with Gordon's.

EVERY DRINK ON THIS PAGE CAME OUT OF A BOTTLE OF GORDON'S GIN.

> Lady Shake 2 ozs Gordon's Gin. 1 oz ice cubes. Strain and serve in cocktail glass.

Hawaii 11/2 ozs. Gordon's Gin and 3 ozs

pineapple juice over ice cubes in highball glass. Add cherry.

Dry Martini: 4 or more parts Gordon's Gin, 1 part dry vermouth. Stir well in pitcher over ice

Strain into chilled cocktail glass or over rocks. Option Add lemon peel twist olive, pearl

Gin Daiguiri: 2 ozs. Gordon's Gin 15 oz. time juice. 12 teaspoon sugar Shake well with ice cubes. Strain and serve in cocktail glass or on

Gin Sour 112 azs. Gordon's Gin, juice et a half

temon 12 teaspoon sugar Shake with cracked ice Strain into chilled sour glass. Add splash

Gimlet 8 ozs Gordon's Gin, 1 oz sweetened

time juice. Stir well over ice. Strain into

Gin Bloody Mary 1½ ozs. Gordon's Gin. 3 ozs. tomato juice, juice ill ½ time wedge. Stir well

everything. Here are recipes for some of the 108 delicious drinks you can make

Gin & Tonic 11/2 ozs. Gordon's Gin into

highball glass over ice. Squeeze in wedge of time. Fill glass with tonic. Gin Screwdriver 11/2 ozs Gordon's Gin and 3 ozs orange juice. Stir in highball glass over

ice cubes. Tom Collins: 11/2 ozs Gordon's Gin, juice of 1/2 lemon Pour over ice in highball glass. Add sprinkle of powdered sugar. Fill with soda. Stir.

Decorate with orange slice and cherry. Salty Dog 1% ozs Gordon's Gin over ice cubes in old-fashioned glass. Fill with 3 ozs.

grapefruit juice Add dash of salt

Rickey 135 ozs Gordon's Gin juice from 13 hime with find into highball glass with ice cubes. Fill with soda water. Stir.

highball glass Add soda water to fill

Ginade 1½ ozs Gordon's Gin over ice cubes in highball glass. Fill with femonade. Stir Add lemon stice.

ill glass with ginger al

Daisy, 115 ozs Gordon's Gin, teaspoon of grenadine juice of 15 lemon, 15 teaspoon powdered sugar. Stir contents over ice cubes in

Between the Sheets: 1 oz each Gordon's Gin, brandy. Cointreau. Shake well with ice cubes. Gordon's and Squirt 11/2 ozs. Gordon's Gin-over ice in highball glass. Fill with Squirt\* grapefruit soft drink.

highball glass. Fill with g mon peel twist. Pink Gin Sprinkle several d bitters into empty on-the-roo Gin & Cola 116 ozs Gordon

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#### The Presidency/Hugh Sidey

#### **How to Get Elected**

t is the season of sunflowers, fresh tomatoes and po-litical candidates. The latter crop may break all yield records as we rush on toward the fall congressional elections. The experts calculate that there will be more handshakes, more speeches and more television entreaties than ever before. These same experts also suggest that when the smoke clears there may be very little change in the Congress along party lines. But there will be more internal stress in the political system. There will be more trouble in the Legislative Branch for its leaders and for President Jimmy Carter

The erratic voting of Congress during the past weeks-killing. stalling. reintroducing-is symptomatic of the personal nature of congressional politics: each Indiana's Floyd Fithian man an identifiable folk hero in his territory, diminish-

ing party lines and defying Washington traditions of discipline. A brief study of the phenomenon came last week from the Historical Research Foundation showing how some politicians who do not fit the traditional political patterns of their districts have won election by emphasizing sincerity, honesty, good cheer and hard work instead of ideology. Using the modern tools Congressmen have voted themselves-jet travel, television, staff experts-the incumbents have rooted themselves to their home ground and loosened their ties to the capital.

A typically skillful practitioner is Timothy Wirth. 38. a liberal Democrat who reigns in Colorado's conservative Second District. His life is 80 hours a week of work, including a ride in the Red Zinger bicycle classic and a two-hour town meeting devoted to foreign policy. He knows how to work a parade so that all the people see him. When pollution became a problem in Denver, he carried a breath analyzer in his van for constituents who wanted to know the amount of carbon monoxide in their lungs. All summer he will be meeting, talking, shaking and lis-

tening. He is synchronized with his people.

In Indiana's Second District, former History Professor Floyd Fithian has found resonance with his moderation as a Democrat in an area that used to be considered far right. His voting pattern is blurred, but his attention to the home folks is not. When he is campaigning, he stays in people's homes most of the time. relishing the hot breakfast and a chance to listen. He hands out questionnaires. urges his people to "get in your two cents' worth." He has some 200 junior high kids in the Fithian youth groups. For five hours' work in the Fithian cause they get a blue T shirt with his picture on it and the slogan HE WORKS FOR ALL OF US. "I know every nook and cranny of my district." the Congressman says. He has talked to town meetings attended by as few as three people. Once he joined in an auction at a county fair believing he was just having fun, but ended up with a real. live lamb. Fithian has a toll-free telephone line to his Washington office, and if there were any way to calculate such a thing, it might be proved that the greater part of his heart, mind and body is back home most of the time. This is quite a change from 20 years ago, when one of the chief criticisms of members of Congress was that once elected, they turned into creatures of Washington

New York's Second District, on Long Island, is considered one of the natural habitats for elephants. But young Thomas Downey, with energy and charm, claimed the place in 1974 for the Democrats. At the ripe old age of 29, he has a good chance of hanging on. In the next days he will tramp his district from dawn

to sunset. He will attend the Mother Cabrini Festival and countless block parties. Downey will loiter at the commuter train stations, roll through areas in his mobile van. Every voter will be invited to a Sunday-morning tea at his parents' home in West Islip. Downey is sustained because the people consider him a good guy who works for them.

All of these men are vaguely troubled as they watch the splintering of party authority, which has slowed the Government dramatically. Yet all see something good in their strong ties to home. How to harness this heartbeat for the national good is the question that the experts have not answered. It is an old American dilemma Good intentions have often caused us trouble before we have figured out how to manage them.



#### Tax Fiasco

Carter's reforms are killed; the "disgrace" persists

fter nearly a year of backstage bar-After nearly a year of out-gaining. Jimmy Carter last January unveiled one of his most important programs: a \$25 billion income tax cut and a nackage of 20 proposals to reform the federal tax system, which during his campaign he had called, not without reason. 'a disgrace to mankind." When the House Ways and Means Committee last week began a final writing session on the bill, the cut had been reduced to \$15 billion and all the reforms had been removed. Instead there will almost certainly be a slash in the capital gains tax, which the Pres-

There is plenty of blame to be shared in this three-ring tax fiasco. The White House staff blames Ways and Means Secretary W. Michael Blumenthal for ineffective and halfhearted lobbying. The bending meekly with shifting political paying attention to the changes in comthe White House staff and the President. "Carter has a singular view of things and says he always wants the ideal and the ultimate," complains Ullman. "But the ideal is not always the realistic. In this Congress and in this political climate, this is the best bill we can get."

Carter on assuming office took very seriously his campaign promise to reform the tax "disgrace." Typically, he set a deadline for his Administration to produce a major revision of the tax code. The goal was laudable: to eliminate certain tax shelters and a multitude of unfair deductions, thus enabling tax rates to be lowered without a big loss in revenue.

ne of his key reforms was to abolish O the capital gains levy and tax the profits from long-term investments as ordinary income. This income is now taxed at up to 70%; capital gains are taxed at a maximum of 49.1%. Carter contended that his reform would permit the maximum ordinary rate to be cut to 50%, and that the impact on investors thus would be minimal. Overall, the Administration said its reforms would mean substantial tax cuts for those earning less than \$20.-000 annually and tax increases only for those earning more than \$100,000.

But when Carter consulted with Ullman and other congressional leaders. he found that they had no wish to take away anyone's assured tax break in return for a promise of lower rates-especially in an election year. Carter was not impressed by that practical argument.

and he continued to urge the reforms The President sent Blumenthal around the nation last summer to rally support for his program. Speaking main-

ly to groups of businessmen. Blumenthal got a stony response. Yet when Carter finally announced his tax package in his 1978 State of the Union message, he stubbornly insisted once again on including reform proposals

Predictably, the Carter plan soon floundered in a political swamp on Capitol Hill. As inflation mounted, Ullman argued that the basic tax cut was too great. and Carter agreed to scale it down to about \$15 billion. The compromise was prudent, but it made Carter again appear vacillating and led to criticism that the cut barely offset scheduled increases in Social Security taxes. As Ullman's committee lopped off the reforms one by one, the Administration looked weak.

Carter turned his attention to other important matters, including his tough Panama Canal fight and the energy bill. Thus when Wisconsin Republican William Steiger introduced a committee amendment to slash the maximum capital gains rate to 25%-the very opposite of what the President had wanted-neither Carter nor his aides took the move

The proposal picked up considerable support in Congress, especially in the mood created by the passage of California's Proposition 13. While Ullman tried to reach a committee compromise with Steiger, Carter undercut Ullman's efforts by blasting away at any capital gains cut at all as "a huge tax windfall for millionaires." The Administration belatedly tried leadership.



House Ways and Means Chairman Ullman No new simmicks at the last minute

to sell an alternative capital gains cut only for homeowners and sellers of new stocks. Complained Ullman: "You can't throw in complicated new gimmicks at the last

When Carter finally gets the bill sometime in the fall, he apparently will face the unhappy choice of vetoing a tax cut or accepting a capital gains provision that runs contrary to the reforms he had promised to deliver. While the President may claim that he fought hard for tax equity, any result that is so far from what he sought implies serious flaws in

#### Congress Moves—A Little

Action on civil service reform, hospital costs and ERA

With final adjournment only two months away, the pace of activity sped up in Congress last week. Among the results:

Civil Service Reform. To improve the federal bureaucracy's efficiency. Carter proposed that hiring and firing procedures be streamlined for the Government's 2.8 million civil service employees. For highlevel bureaucrats, he also recommended greater use of salary incentives based on job performance. Last week the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee approved a bill, but only after it had been substantially rewritten under pressure from lobbyists for Government employees. The committee cut back the incentive program to a two-year experiment and limited it to three agencies, to be designated by the Administration. It proposed amending the Hatch Act to permit federal employees to take an active role in partisan politics, a step opposed by Carter who called the committee's votes "very

Still. Arizona Democrat Morris Udall

who is managing the legislation for the Administration, is confident that the obiectionable sections can be eliminated on the House floor. Said he: "My whole strategy was simply to get out a bill.

Subsidized Housing. The Administration had asked for a 1979 appropriation of \$31 billion to subsidize housing for the poor and the elderly. But the Senate Banking. Housing and Urban Affairs Committee added amendments that would have cost the Government an additional \$8 billion. Last week, by a vote of 60 to 21, the Senate cut it back to what the Administration had originally proposed.

In a reversal of political stereotypes. several Republicans-including Massachusetts' Edward Brooke. Pennsylvania's John Heinz III and New York's Jacob Javits-supported the increased spending. Argued Brooke "It is cruel to look to our lowest-income citizens as the front line in the hattle against inflation

Hospital Costs. Carter has proposed limiting increases in hospital costs to 9% a year. They soared last year by almost

16%, a pace that has slowed a bit this year, to an average increase of 12.7%, a decrease helped in part by the threat of cost-curbing legislation. In a surprise move. Illinois Democrat Marty Russo defected from the Carter camp, enabling the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee to vote 22 to 21 against mandatory hospital cost controls. Instead, the committee endorsed voluntary efforts by hospitals to cut costs. The panel also approved a national commission-with no enforcement powers-to monitor medical costs. Secretary of Health. Education and Welfare Joseph Califano bitterly blamed the defeat on Russo, who changed his views after lobbying by members of the II-

linois Hospital Association Endangered Species. Because of the 1973 Endangered Species Act. federal officials were forced to suspend work on the \$116 million Tellico Dam in eastern Tennessee to protect the snail darter, a rare species of three-inch perch. Last week the Senate voted to open a loophole in the act by authorizing a new Cabinet-level committee that could grant exemptions from the law in cases of "irresolvable conflict." The provision was opposed by the Administration, but was accepted reluctantly by leaders of environmental groups. who were warned by Tennessee Republican Howard Baker that if "common sense" was not written into the law, political pressures would mount until "the act itself would expire." Administration officials will now fight the Baker loophale in the House

ERA Extension. Still three states short of the 38 needed for final approvation the Equal Rights Amendment, proponents originally asked Congress to extend the March 22 deadline for ratification by another seven years. But even with the help of last-minute phone calls to wavering legislators from Rosalynn Carter and Betty Ford, the bill seemed headed for defeat in the House Judiciary Committee. Supporters proposed a compromise: an extension of three years and three months. Then, to their surprise, they lost a crucial vote when a reluctant ally. Harold S. Sawver of Michigan, said that he would vote

no to anything less than seven years Committee Chairman Peter Rodino Jr. promptly called a 15-min. recess, and colleagues pressed Sawyer to change his mind. But he remained adamant. "It's a delicate ego problem." said New Jersey Republican Millicent Fenwick, after pleading with Sawyer. "He's terribly angry. He says he's been over-lobbied." When the committee reconvened. Sawyer did indeed vote against the compromise. But Nevada Democrat Jim Santini left the room: in his absence the compromise extension squeaked through, 17 to 16

Now the Rules Committee must decide, probably by mid-August, whether the LRA proposal will be brought to the floor Senate opposition to the extension is even stronger, and conservative Senators threaten a ranti-ERA filibuster

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#### Life Among the Talmadges

An untidy divorce discloses an unusual road to riches

Le gets up at 4 a.m., puts on the signal clubes and rous via or miles near his apartment in northwest Washington. Then he east breakfast and heads for his office on Capitol Hill He returns home as soon as the Senate adjourns, watches TV and is in bed by 8.30. Georgia Senator Herman Talmadge, 64 is a lonely and troubled man these days under heavy pressure from investigations into a transcription of the signal properties of the signal properties of the signal properties. The signal properties of the signal properties of the signal properties of the signal properties. The signal properties of the signal properties of

His problems stem mostly from legal battles with his former wife Betty. 54, who lives at Lovejoy, the 1.400-acre family plantation southeast of Atlanta, where she runs a meat brokerage business. For years it seemed they had ar perfect political marriage. But he drank, she says, and the mar-

riago deteriorated She came down with the Washington-wife blues and started seeing a psychiatrist One evening in 1976. shortly after hog-killing time, Betty Talmadge suddenly recovered. White watching the news on TV at Lovejoy, she discovered that the Senator had filed for discovered that the Senator had filed for discovered that the Senator had filed for discovered thas stitus, and said. "When Talmadge was stitug, and said." When

are you moving out?

But political divorces can be messy. Talmadge soon learned, as have others former Governor Marvin Mandel of Maryland. Governor George Wallace of Alabama and Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts." Last August, Talmadge revealed in a deposition that it had long been his practice to accept pocket money, clothing and lodging from friends. In fact, he had written only one check for cash in six years. Says he "Wherever I go, people entertain me, lodge me, give me small amounts of money. My out-ofpocket expenses come from donations friends give mc - \$5. a \$10 bill. sometimes \$15 or \$20." The Senate Ethics Committee is investigating the propriety of his way of meeting living expenses The divorce case, meanwhile, focused

on whether Tailmadge or his wife was entitled to 5756000 from a land deal According to his deposition. He Senator in 1967 bought a one-eighth share in Terminal Facilities. a land syndicate, and placed the stock in his wife's name. She now claims that it was an outright jaff and that she paid capital gains tax on and that she paid capital gains tax on only her to hold in trust, even though in an answer to one of Betty's lawyer. The floxes develos beams filed the mouth affe



ness. For years it seemed they had a perfect political marriage But "People entertain me, lodge me, give me money

written questions, he referred to it as a "gift." Asked a lawyer for his wife "That's pretty concise, isn't it. Senator?" Replied Talmadge "A little too concise." Talmadge quickly amended his answer

Last week the Georgia supreme courtruled that the money belongs to Talmadge. But he is caught in a dilemma if the stock was a gift to his wife. he should have paid a federal gift tax, if the stock was only being held in trust, he should have reported it in his annual financial statement to the Senate. He did neither:

But the issue of who owns the shares is secondary to the much more revealing questions of how Talmadge got involved in the land acquisition and what



Betty Talmadge campaigning in Atlanta
How to cook a pig

then happened to it. The deal originated in 1967, when an Atlanta businessman invited Talmadge to join in the purchase of 1.200 acres in Cobb County. Ga. near the proposed Interstate 75. The

businessman wrote that he was "reliably informed there will be an interchange" on part of the property, information not yet made public. Talmadge put up \$119.800. Two years later, then State Highway Director Jim Gillis. I political crony of Talmadge's, officially recommended that the interchange be built on that site. In 1972 Terminal Facilities sold the property to land developers for \$12,500 an acre. almost six times the original purchase price of five years before. In addition, the Senator's son acted as broker and received a \$100 .-000 commission from the sellers.

Nor was this the only time Tallmadge has been involved with friends in profilable land dealings In 1966 the Senator asked the Federal Highway Administration terchange on Interstate 25 near property that had been acquired by business associates in rural Henry County. Ga The 11th agreed, even though there was to be another interchange less than two

Talmadge's sworn deposition discloses that he gave his wife about \$15,000 worth of securities that do not appear as gifts in his tax returns. The IRs is investigating the matter. There are also problems with a special account that Talmadge kept to handle expenses related to his Senate duties.

b He took \$26,912 from the account for his own use in 1975, claiming it was for campaign expenses he had paid out of pocket, but did not report these expenses until last week

➤ He failed to pay federal income taxes on \$5,907 of income kept in the account

▶ He deposited in the account between 1973 and 1976 583.363 in expense reimbursements from the Senate. \$25.248 more than documented expenditures.

while her lawyers are forcing out new disclosures about her husbond's finances. Betty Tallmadge is doing her best for return to Washington. The indedstigable meat broker, who recently wrote a book called How to Gook a Pig. and Other Back-to-the-Farm Recipes, is running for Congress. Says Betty: "There's not much difference between selling a ham and self-ing a political idea." Two weeks ago she gave a pig picken palantation to help the campaign But the turnout was poor Many of her friends are still friends of Herman's—no matter what has been disclosed about him—and stayed home.

#### Monopoly on the Boardwalk

Lots of other players are still struggling to pass Go

hen the doors open at 10 each morning, the hopful come crowding into what looks like a hall of mirrors, josting or places at gambling tables and solt machines that seem to stretch to infinity. Grimly determined to beat the odds, the players have been pouring huge amounts of money into the easing's coffers. This is Atlantic City, and it is booming beyond the most optimistic expectations.

When Resorts International opened its football-field-size cash on in May, gamblers lost an average of \$438,500 a day on the tables and machines By June the daily drop reached \$535,000 and secu-trily analysts estimate that the figure is now running as much as \$700,000 a day, three times the revenues of either Caesars Palace or the MGM Grand, the big-eset cashion in Last Yeans.

The people who are becoming rich are the stock market players: Resorts International's stock soared from \$20 a share in March to a recent high of \$961/2. The company has invested some of its new capital by purchasing the Seeburg line of slot machines and Atlantic City's famed Steel Pier. The shares of two other firms that plan to open casinos in Atlantic City are also rising fast: Bally Manufacturing Co., which makes slot and pinball machines, from a low earlier this year of \$15 to \$38 last week, and Caesars World, from a low of \$6 earlier this year to \$25 last week. Says Wall Street Analyst Anthony Hoffman: "Americans will gamble wherever they can. Why is just \$75 billion bet in the country each year? Only because there aren't enough opportunities

Caesars World has leased, for \$2.5 million a year, the Howard Johnson's Regency Motor Lodge and plans to spend

\$30 million on renovations and a casino that will be 50% larger than Resorts International's. The gamblers' chips may be down by early next year. Japanese Restaurant Tycoon Rocky Aoki, president of the Benihana chain, and Financier Takashi Sasakawa have leased the old Shelburne Hotel for more than \$1 million a year and are rushing to remodel it into a casino by spring. Further behind is Bally Manufacturing, which has leased a baroque landmark, the Marlborough-Blenheim Hotel. The company wants to tear it down, despite its entry in the National Register of Historic Places, but a local group intends to fight the plan in court.

Such problems have not been encoun tered by Golden Nugget Inc., of Las Vegas, which proposes building a new \$75 million high-rise casino-hotel on the site of an old stucco motel. Golden Nugget's hard-driving president. Stephen Wynn, last month slipped into the motel wearing sandals and a T shirt. When the owner quoted an \$8.5 million selling price. Wynn replied: "I'll give you a million now and the rest in 24 hours." Wynn told reporters that the owner was so surprised "he almost dropped dead." Also scrambling to open casinos are Playboy Enterprises. which plans to build a new hotel, and Penthouse International, which has acquired the Four Seasons Motel and Holiday Inn on the Boardwalk

The state of New Jersey is cashing in on the boom too, by means of a casino tax that skims about 8% of the house's winnings. The state originally projected that the tax would bring in \$18 million a year by 1980, when four or five casinos are expected to be operating. But the daily take at Resorts International is already to take at Resorts International is already.

high enough to bring in that amount of taxes a year.

Some law-enforcement officials fear that the river of recune sull weaken the state's resolve to follow stiff screening procourters to present criminals from inficiolated to the state of the state of the detective. The continuity of revenue is important to state officials. They will not shoot Santa Claus." Resort's license, in fact, was granted on a temporary basis, at the urging of Governor Brendan Byrne and over the objection of the state's gamwhose agency still has not completed its investigation of the company.

A potential casino owner certain to be the subject of scrutiny is Morris Shenker, who put up \$10 million to buy the President Motor Inn on the Boardwalk. Formerly one of Jimmy Hoffa's lawyers, he is part owner of the Dunes Hotel and casino in Las Vegas. Because of Shenker's links with a scandal-ridden Teamsters Union pension fund, he has been investigated off and on for more than 20 years by the Internal Revenue Service, the Securities and Exchange Commission, the Justice Department and the Nevada gaming commission. Mob activity in Atlantic City has so far been concentrated on loan sharking and the control of service businesses such as laundries, vending machines and garbage collection.

he emerald tide in Atlantic City, the Tonly U.S. city outside Nevada that permits casino gambling, has not escaped the attention of other states. A group called Let's Help Florida, which hopes to rejuvenate decaying Miami Beach with casino gambling, claims to have enough voters' signatures to hold a referendum on the issue this November. But Governor Reubin Askew is organizing a statewide campaign to fight the proposal. The New York legislature has approved a state constitutional amendment to allow casinos. If the same measure is approved a second time, next year, as required by state law, the amendment will be on the hallot next year

But legalized gambling is not transforming Atlantic City as fast as some residents had expected. Except for the crush inside the Resorts International Hotel and the wild bidding in real estate offices for Boardwalk property, the city is still much the same as always. Earlier this year, many home and shop owners posted FOR SALL signs in hopes of making quick fortunes But much of the openingday hysteria has passed, and rents of property not on the Boardwalk have returned to normal. Indeed, some residents joke that the city's best chance of getting new money out of the casinos and on to the streets rests with a movement organized by a women's rights activist and a former Atlantic City madam. They have formed a group called HUSH (Help Undo Sexual Hypocrisy) that is trying to legalize prostitution.



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Severe drought lowered the level of Shasta Lake last year (above); now water is spinning over the bank (right)

### Water, Water Everywhere

#### But some Californians still do not waste a drop

It the height of the two-year Western drought, youngsters skateboarded on the dry concrete bed of the Los Angeles River Shasta Lake receded for least them. The state of the state of the state of the state of the rocks bottom fortual mud flat. The normally rouring Stansibus River near Scaramento urred into a trickle Kent reservoir serving Marin County dropped by more than a third of the National Oceanographic and Atmosheric Administration. We've got

Rafting on the Stanislaus River
"We have rebounded with a bang

a good chance of another dust bowl."
But the only thing certain about the
weather is that it will change Sunenough, late last fall, rain started falling
enough, late last fall, rain started falling
dantily to the dry and thristy land that in
the first six months of this year the state
got 25; times its normal amount of rainfall. The crains have been so plentiful that
there would have been disastrous hoost
lates and reservoirs.

Beaters have returned to Shasta Lake, along with crowds of campers. Some 20,000 people spent Fourth of July weekend there, 40,000 were at Folsom Lake. Says William Dillinger of the state department of parks and recreation. Nobody is crying for customers any more Last year people were hiking on the mud flats along the lakes. This year they are swimming.

Bill Center, who shut down his raffirental firm last year and went to work on a tree farm, is back in business on the Stainslatus River. He now employs 30 guides to take people on overnight trps, serving them shishkebab and strawberry shortcake for dinner. Says he: "Two years ago.1 worked half time. Now it's time-and-a-half We have rebounded with a bang."

Although state officials shut down the ski lift on 14,162-ft Mount Shasta last April, intrepid skiers and snow bunnies are still skimming down high-altitude snow fields that are up to 25 feet deep state officials welcome the snow pack for another reason Explains Bill Carlon Spokesman for the department of sales spokesman for the department of sales and the snow and state of the share the share of the share of the share the share of the share o

erras they were barred from visiting last year because of the high fire danger. On the flourishing ranch lands, Cal-

On the hoursaning fation almost cornic action materials and the state of the drought and reducing his beets state of the drought and reducing his bleets state of the drought and reducing his bleets state of the st

But the downpours have hurt the farmers, who raise vegetables ranging from artichokes to zucchim, in California's Central Valley. To survise the drought, farmers deepened existing wells or drilled new ones at a cost of \$340 mittion. The rains partly replenished the val-



Mary Murphy, 16, sliding on Mount Shasta Like having water in the hank



ley's water table, but also flooded the fields. As a result, planting of strawberries, tomatoes and lettuce was delayed. Then, when the lettuce seeds were finally in the ground, many of them were washed away by subsequent downpours. The price of lettuce on the East Coast rose to a staggering \$1 and even more per head Observes Rancher Willie Chamberlin: "It's a lot like a breakfast table. Sometimes you have a little pancakes left over Sometimes you have a little syrup left over. The trick is to make it come out even."

ven in the cities, the rains were not good news for evwhich normally has one of the "The trick is to make it come out even nation's highest hay fever rates

the drought had greatly lowered the pollen count. Hay fever is particularly prevalent now, some doctors say, because the allergy-prone became less resistant dur-

ing the dry years.

Many Californians are finding that habits acquired during the dry years are hard to break. Even though water rationing has ended in Marin County, north of San Francisco, residents are continuing to

erybody. In Sacramento. Wild popples blooming in the desert near Palmdale, Calif.

abide by a version of Governor Jerry Brown's thoughts about "less in more. They are conserving water by taking short showers, keeping bricks in their toilet tanks and watering their lawns infrequently. They consequently are using 35% less water than three years ago. "I will never again waste water." boasts Helen Davis of Sausalito. In many Marin restaurants, water is still served only on request "Without water, we wash fewer glasses and that saves energy, argues Restaurateur Adolph Santina. "Not that many people ask for it these days. They are now drinking wine

Deep in the heart of Texas the elements are less accommodating: three weeks of temperatures of more than 100 and six weeks of drought in the Dallas area have shriveled the earth. It is so hot that people are watering house foundations to keep them from cracking.

So far. 21 people have died in the Dallas-Fort Worth area because of the heat wave, most of them elderly poor who live in homes without air conditioning. Weather forecasters predict

the heat wave will continue this week, breaking a record of 25 consecutive days of 100 temperatures set in 1952. Although health authorities are warning area residents to stay out of the midday sun. joggers still pack city parks at noon. Golfers also show up on the courses. But they are playing with a new rule the ball can be moved without penalty if it falls into a crack opened in fairways by the heat and drought.

Last year the marina on Folsom Lake was unusable; but the rains have put the same docks back in use again







Leeds Castle, where Secretary of State Vance met Egypt's Kamel (left) and Israel's Dayan (right) for Middle East talks

#### World

MIDDLE LAS

## **Talking Face to Face Again**

Guarded optimism, hurt feelings and "black propaganda"

was an unlikely setting for a Middle East peace conference. Leeds Castle. a moat-surrounded medieval fortress. is set like a crown jewel in the placid English countryside southeast of London. Henry VIII once lived there with Anne Boleyn, his second wife, before love soured and he had her beheaded. Last week the Foreign Ministers of Lgypt and Israel sat down at Leeds Castle to try to weave together what was left of the frayed threads of the Middle East peace initiative. The two days of talks between Israel's Moshe Dayan and Egypt's Mohammed Ibrahim Kamel were presided over by U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, who had arranged the meeting in the hope that something might come of getting the parties face to face once again

As the participants arrived in Britain for the talks, nerves were on edge. There were fears that the discussions might end in more acrimony, as well as rumors of a terrorist plot against the visiting officials. British security forces decided at the last

minute to move the conference from London's modern and more convenient Churchill Hotel to the remote splendor of Leeds Castle Security was extremely tight. Dayan and Kamel landed in a special section of London's Heathrow Airport, which had been barricaded by tanks, armored cars and British troops. Vance's At the castle, sharpshooters manned the stone turners, and senties with guard dogs patrolled the grounds and single drawbridge access.

The conference went off without a hitch, although no one was boasting of any concrete achievements when it end-ed. Nonetheless, Vance allowed himself a bit of guarded optimism. Said the Secretary of State afterward: "These were the most candid and probing discussions I have heard between [the two sides]."

Vance first met separately with each of the two Foreign Ministers to work out procedures for the discussion. Reviewing the similarities between Israel's 26-point peace proposal effered last December and Egypt's six-point plan given to Vec President Walter Mondale earlier this month, the Secretary noted that both plans 1) envision real peace for Irand, with normal relations with its neighbors. 2) recognize the necessity of detailed secretary assurances for Israel. 3) propose a free-year transition period and some sort free-year transition period and some sort force and the propose and t

Nest day in the castle's elegant conference roum, overlooking the meat with its graceful black swans. Vance, Dayan and Kamel and their respective aides got down to direct talks. Although Vance sees his role as "more than a mediator, more than a postman," in the words of one U.S. official, he put forward no U.S. proposals during the meeting. Dayan and Kamel did about 90% of the talking in the ses-

ons, which lasted for nearly seven hours. The differences between the two sides centered on the so-called core issues: the applicability of U.N. Resolution 242 to the West Bank and Gaza, sovereignty of both areas, and the degree of Israeli withon these issues. Vance announced that State Department Troubleshooter Alfred Atherton Jr. will travel to Saudi Arabia. Jordan, Egypt and Israel this week to lay the groundwork for more talks. Vance himself will return to the Middle East to chair another meeting between the Israelis and the Egyptians in early August Washington hopes to synthesize the positions of the two sides and broaden the next session to include defense and legal experts who could then carry the talks on into the details of withdrawal, new borders and security guarantees

Dayan declared himself "optimistic about the Egyptians' attitude." He said he was surprised at the willingness of his Egyptian counterpart to forgo discussion of a declaration of principles, which would commit Israel to eventual withdrawal, in favor of concentrating on specific issues. "They didn't have the courage to pay us any compliments," noted one Israeli participant, "but at least Kamel told Dayan he could understand our problem.

Dayan assured Vance that Israel was

willing to participate in another round of talks. But there was some doubt whether Egypt would go along. Returning to Caisummit in Khartoum (see following story), Egyptian President Anwar Sadat declared that for a new meeting to be held. there should be some new elements from

eanwhile, Sadat's meetings with Israeli Defense Minister Ezer Weizman and Labor Party Leader Shimon Peres the week before in Austria had stormy repercussions in Israel. The Egyptians have barely concealed their frustration with Premier Menachem Begin, who they believe has no interest in negotiating for peace. Asked whether he met with Peres to try to split the Israeli government. Sadat termed the charge "the kind of black propaganda with which Menachem Begin tries to inflame the Israeli people." In a speech marking the 26th anniversary of the Egyptian revolution. Sadat declared: "It is possible to establish peace in hours. The only obstacle is Mr. Begin, who thinks he can have peace and guarantees and land. Peace, yes. Guarantees for both parties, yes. Land, no.

Although Begin had given advance approval to both the Weizman and Peres meetings with Sadat, the Defense Minister returned home to a scathing attack from other members of the Israeli Cabinct. They accused him of negotiating

without authority and using the peace process to burnish his own image. Begin suggested that the Cabinet postpone its discussion on Weizman's talks with Sadat for another week. Furious at this snub. Weizman stormed out of the Cabinet session. Next day he tore a peace poster from a wall outside Begin's office.

Stung by Sadat's cool attitude. Begin told a meeting of his Herut party: "I am the only obstacle to total surrender. The demand for lands, for withdrawal from the West Bank, from Jerusalem and from the settlements means surrender. No matter what was whispered, what matters are the documents." Added Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, a vigorous proponent of Israel's expansionist policy of settling the occupied territories: "The Arabs are trying to build the image of their favorite leaders. They also decide who is clever. who is shrewd and who is capable of negotiation with them." Whereupon Begin interrupted. "They will soon also decide who is fat and who is thin."

#### Storm in the Knesset

t was not Menachem Begin's finest hour. During a rowdy session of the Knesset that was televised nationally last week. Israel's Premier lost his temper in a debate with Labor Party Leader Shimon Peres about Peres' talks with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat in Vienna, came close to weeping, and tore up pieces of paper. At a closed session of Labor delegates, even former Premier Golda Meir wondered aloud whether Begin had lost his senses. Meanwhile, a new "denial unit" in Begin's office, created to offset critical press stories about him, was working full time to explain away the Premier's rostrum behavior

Begin's angry outburst even spilled over into the Knesset cafeteria after the debate, where the Premier, according to numerous witnesses, cursed Peres in Russian and Polish. He also disclosed that Peres had met secretly with King Hassan II of Morocco in Rabat following the Sadat talks and "even dared to ask my permission to meet with [Jordan's] King Hussein." Labor Party officials seeking future meetings with Arab leaders, he warned, would not be issued passports. TIME has learned that Hussein, who was honeymooning in England, had requested a meeting with

Peres through former King Constantine II of Greece. Peres called and asked for Begin's permission; he was turned down

The stormy Knesset session had begun with opening remarks by Peres on his talks with Sadat. Begin had not yet found time to receive Peres privately and thus had not heard a full and confidential report. Nonetheless. the Premier accused Peres of "telling us fantastic stories" about the talks. "I really want to ask," said Begin, "did he [Peres] ask his partner in the threeand-a-half-hour discussion if he. Mr. Begin ripping up paper during debate



Sadat, is ready to make a territorial compromise? For me a part, and for you a part?" Begin then grabbed a piece of paper and ripped it in two. "This is what a territorial compromise means," he shouted.

The Knesset broke into an uproar. Rabbi Menachem Hacohen, a member of the Labor Party, asked: "What is that? A peace poster?" (The reference was to an earlier incident in which Defense Minister Weizman had ripped down a poster outside Begin's office.) Called out Meir Peil, head of the left-wing Shelli Party: "A Premier on the rostrum ripping up papers?" Begin answered with sarcasm: "Did I wake you up. Knesset Member Peil? Shalom alechem!

Peres futilely tried to reply that he had raised the question of territorial compromise with Sadat. Begin refused to listen. "Sadat is talking about minor adjustments only." he continued. "Now I will tell you why you didn't raise the question about a territorial compromise. You are a clever man You knew what kind of an answer you would get, and that is why you did not ask.

Peres: I beg your pardon. I say that I raised the question, and I will report to you privately. You have not heard my report.

Begin: Don't tell me theoretical stories. I have no time. And now I am free, and you will have to be free to

> Later in the debate when the Premier declared that he represented the State of Israel. Meir Peil interiected: "Ov!" Begin turned on him once more: 'Ov and ov to this heckling. I understand it hurts you, but it will continue hurting you for many years." While several members shouted "Amen." Peil shot back: "I hope [he] will reach the age of 120 but not be the Premier for a long time." By session's end. Israeli television viewers might have been hoping for a peace plan for their Knesset.

#### World

#### Strong Words from a Statesman

Nigeria's Obasanjo lectures East and West on intervention

I would not be a splashy affair, promised the host of the 15th annual summit of the Organization of African Unity. In contrast to the gaudy 14th meeting in Libreville last year, on which the government of Gabon spent nearly \$1 billion for halls, hotels and new highways to nowhere, this year's session in Khartoum would be summitry on a \$12 million shoestring. A few old streets had been resurfaced, and sessions would be held in Friendship Hall, a rather proletarianlooking convention center built two years ago by the Chinese. Despite the relative austerity. Sudanese President Gaafar Numeiri, the summit host and incoming OAU president, suggested in personal letters of invitation to each of his fellow 48 African leaders that this was a meeting they would not want to miss.

When the four-day summit convened last week, there were some inevitable absentees. Mauritania's President Moktar Ould Daddah for instance had been overthrown by a military coup shortly before he was supposed to leave for Nouakchott Airport to catch a plane to Khartoum Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, as usual, preferred to stay home, sending in his place a quarrelsome delegation that threw the sessions into an occasional uproar by picking fights with neighboring Chad. Nonetheless. 35 leaders of the OAU's 49 member states were on hand, the largest muster in the organization's history. Among them: Angola's Agostinho Neto, attending his first African summit, and Guinea's Sekou Touré, who had not been to one since 1965. All were greeted with effusive embraces by Host Numeiri at Khartoum's airport

Until this year, the most urgent item on the OAU agenda had customarily been what ought to be done about the white regimes that are suppressing black majorities in Rhodesia and South Africa. That issue surfaced once again last week, to be sure: the OAU decided unanimously to support all-party Rhodesian talks, backed by the U.S. and Britain, that would have to include leaders of the black nationalist Patriotic Front But the larger issue that bothered everyone in Khartoum was the proper African response to military and political incursions by both East and West, capped by the French and Belgian effort to put down a rebellion in Zaïre's mine-rich Shaba region

At a pre-summit Foreign Ministers' meeting called to whittle down the agenda and prepare positions, the Council of Ministers had hammered out a series of resolutions on the foreign intervention that one delegate aptly described as "mush." One resolution maintained that the defense of African states was the sole responsibility of the states themselves.





and Madagascar's Didier Ratsiraka





A meeting they would not want to miss.

A complementary-but contradictory -measure provided that the "sovereignty of every African country gives it the right to appeal to any other country for help if its security and independence are threatened." In an oblique criticism of those cross-purposes proposals. Gabonese President Albert-Bernard ("Omar") Bongo. the OAU's outgoing chairman, ruefully noted: "We have the habit of talking without saying anything land of] making too many resolutions.

ome of the rhetoric at Khartoum jus-S tified Bongo's criticism. Restating the obvious, Liberia's President William Tolbert declared that the continent "should struggle against racism and neocolonialism." Sekou Toure celebrated his return to the summit by pummeling the West with a scathing sermon. Africa's problem, typified by the French-Belgian operation in Zaïre, was Western-style imperialism, which Touré equated with "Satan as described in the holy Koran, the Bible and the New Testament. It is not just bad, it is evil characterized by keen cruelty, an evil capable of the worst.

It was left to Nigeria's Lieut. General Olusegun Obasanjo to provide the summit with a statesmanlike sense of purpose. Wearing a flowing pink-flowered Yoruban robe and, on his head, a red and gold fula, the tall, husky Obasanjo took the rostrum to deliver an address that was at once forceful, balanced and conciliatory. As leader of the most populous African nation-and one with political clout, since it supplies 25% of U.S. petroleum imports-Obasanjo had qualms about condemning "without reservation" intervention from any source The Shaba operation, he agreed, was "a most naked and unashamed attempt to determine what Africa's true collective interests should be. Paratroop drops in the 20th century are no more acceptable to us than the gunboats of the last century were to our ancestors." Moreover, said the general, "convening conferences in Europe and America to decide the fate of Africa raises too many ugly specters that would be best forgotten.

Obasanjo acknowledged Western concern over Communist infiltration in Africa. But, he advised, "no African nation is about to embrace Communism wholesale any more than we are willing to embrace capitalism. To the extent that any African country can be considered by the West to have 'gone Communist.' it was as a direct result of the failure of Western policies. In every case where Cuba's intervention was established, they intervened as a consequence of the failure of Western policies.

Obasanjo was not content merely to warn the onetime colonial rulers of Africa against neocolonialism. He also blamed Africans in part for their own problems: "We African leaders must realize that we cannot be asking outside powers to leave us alone while in most

# Preferred Juster

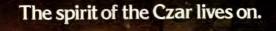
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It was the Golden Age of Russia. Yet in this time when legends lived, the Czar stood like a giant among men.

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#### World

cases it is our own actions which provide them with the excuse to interfere in our affairs. We can no longer hide behind real or imagined foreign machinations for our own failings.

While accepting the rationale for Soviet. Cuban and East German intervention in Ethiopia and Angola, Obasanjo argued that East-bloc aid to black Africa must have limits. "The Soviets should not overstay their welcome," he warned. "Africa is not about to throw off one colonial yoke for another. The Soviets should therefore see it to be in their interest not to seek to perpetually maintain their presence even after the purpose for which they were invited has been achieved. This way they run the risk of being dubbed a new imperial power, as indeed they already are being called even by those with whom they have had long association." That was a clear reference to Egypt. Somalia and the Sudan, all of which have expelled Russian advisers. Lest anyone miss his point. Obasanio concluded: "We must be the prime determinants of our destiny. Let the Soviets and their collaborators heed this timely counsel.

basanjo's roundly applauded speech was the high point of the session. Bevond their own bright promise of stronger African leadership, his statesmanlike words contrasted with the gaffes that too often in the past have soiled the image African leaders sought to project. There were, alas, still a few of those gaucheries at the 15th summit. Items

▶ Sudanese security men had to break up a wrestling match between Algerian and Moroccan delegates over a map of Africa that classified the Western Sahara as a nonindependent country. The Algerians, who support Polisario guerrillas fighting for the area's independence, were penciling in "independent" when the Moroccans chanced along and tried to ink in boundary lines indicating that Western Sahara had been partitioned between Morocco and Mauritania. A brief, fierce struggle ensued.

▶ In a short speech that Sudan's Numeiri generously described as "vivid and cheerful." Idi Amin Dada of Uganda offered a few of his customary impromptu bons mots. One contained a sardonic ring of truth: "I guess I should say a few words about liberation fronts and the Palestinian people, since you are not at the OAU unless you mention those things

For all their attacks on Western neocolonialism, the delegates for the most part addressed one another in the two maior languages of colonial Africa: French and English. One embarrassing moment occurred when Angola's Neto, who was educated in Lisbon, was forced to wait until a Portuguese-speaking interpreter could be found to provide the running translation of his speech. Neto concluded by caustically requesting that Portuguese be made one of the OAU's working languages

# **Human Rights on Trial (Contd.)**

Moscow convicts another dissident, harasses a diplomat

Undaunted by the world outcry against the trials and convictions of Anatoli Shcharansky and two other Soviet dissidents. Moscow last week moved to silence another human rights activist. Attorney Lev Lukyanenko. 50, went on trial in the small Ukrainian town of Gorodnya near Kiev on charges of "anti-Soviet agitation." The pattern of the proceedings was much the same as in the previous trials. Like Shcharansky. Alexander Ginzburg and Viktoras Petkus. Lukyanenko refused to make a public confession, despite seven months of pretrial interrogation. Instead he went on a hunger strike when the summary four-day trial began, refused to accept a court-appointed attorney, and

Proud of their nation's cultural heritage. the Ukrainians have long chafed under Russian-imposed restraints on their language, their literature and their independent spirit.

That spirit was exemplified by Lukyanenko, who boldly helped found the unofficial Ukrainian Workers and Peasants Union in 1959. Its platform: secession from the U.S.S.R .- a right that is theoretically guaranteed by the 1936 Soviet constitution-and the establishment of an independent socialist Ukraine. In 1961 Lukyanenko was tried for treason and condemned to death by shooting. His sentence was later commuted to 15 years. After his release, he







U.S. Diplomat Raymond F. Smith

A harsh sentence for an activist and some wrestling on U.S. embassy grounds.

conducted his own defense. Paying heavily for his defiance, he was sentenced to the maximum under the law: ten years of hard labor in a concentration camp and five years of Siberian exile. Shcharansky had received 13 years, without a term of exile, on the graver charge of treason.

Lukyanenko had been a founding member of an unofficial Helsinki Watch Committee, set up to monitor Soviet compliance with the 1975 declaration of human rights signed in Helsinki. Of the eleven original members of Lukyanenko's group, which is based in the Ukraine, only five remain free; their leader, Mykola Rudenko, and three others were sentenced to long terms in labor camps after trials in 1977 and 1978. The singularly harsh sentence meted out to Lukyanenko may have been intended as an object lesson to the U.S.S.R.'s largest and most troublesome minority, its 41 million Ukrainians. joined forces with other human rights activists, brought together by the Helsinki Committees' commitment to a variety of causes, including Jewish emigration and religious freedom.

Meanwhile, the Soviets have also stepped up their harassment of U.S. residents in Moscow, which has already resulted in the arrest of one businessman and the conviction of two newsmen on charges of libel (see LAW). Last week, as Second Secretary Raymond F. Smith walked across the grounds of the U.S. embassy, two Soviet policemen grabbed him roughly from behind, wrestled him and tore his jacket. Though the policemen had no right to enter the embassy grounds, it was later claimed that they had mistaken the American for a Soviet citizen. Smith was the Foreign Service officer who had been assigned by the U.S. to observe and report on Shcharansky's trial.

#### World

# A Diplomatic Offensive

Whereby enemies become friends (and vice versa)

As the People's National Airline jet set had completed similar whirlwind pro-Jamaica's top government officials were on hand to greet Chinese Vice Premier Keng Piao and his 27-member entourage. The visitor declared that "China and Jamaica both belong to the Third World." Later, at a luncheon given by Democratic Socialist Prime Minister Michael Manley, the handsome, white-haired Chinese leader delivered a now familiar blast at the Americans and the Russians: "The superpowers are racking their brains to divide and sabotage the Third World movement by despicable means, but the nonaligned countries are uniting to frustrate their schemes." By week's end Keng

paganda visits to Trinidad and Tobago and Guyana, where local leaders received him with the bemused formality that reflected continuing policy differences with China

Keng's Caribbean junket was only the latest example of China's new ac tivist, pragmatic diplomacy. After 12 years of xenophobic isolationism. China is increasingly behaving like a global superpower, exchanging state visits, forging agreements, cajoling, arguing and sometimes berating other nations around the world Last week alone while Keng was flying around the Caribbean. Vice Foreign Minister Han Nien-lung was resuming long-stalled talks with Japanese officials about a peace treaty Meanwhile Peking dispatched delegations of electrical engineers to the U.S. canoeists to Yugoslavia. educators to Sri Lanka, economists to Zambia, parachutists to Canada, physicians to the Central African Empire In addition, a team of crack Chinese players left for France to participate in the 22nd European congress of the ancient Chinese game known as Go. a military board game whose objects are territorial conquest and the capture of the opponent's pieces by encirclement

These tactics are all part of a new diplomatic offensive aimed at isolating the U.S.S.R., wooing the Third World and cementing economic ties with Western industrialized nations that can supply vital technology. Abandoning Mao's doctrine of national self-reliance. Peking's leaders this year have concluded an unprecedented trade deal with the European

Japan. In May the Carter Administration agreed to sell China infrared scanning devices for oil exploration. To pay for its expensive purchases of Western technology. China's economics czar. Vice Premier Li Hsien-nien, told a group of visiting British parliamentarians this month that Peking is considering the once heretical action of borrowing from

foreign banks. Peking's leaders have also reinforced their oft-expressed warnings of Soviet imperialist ambitions in the Third World with some dramatic diplomatic gestures. Following the French and Belgian military intervention in Zaïre last May, Chinese Foreign Minister Huang Hua flew into Kinshasa. Touring Shaba region with Zaïre's President Mobutu Sese Seko. Huang declared that the Katangese invaders had been "Soviet-Cuban mercenaries." Since then Keng Piao has carried China's admonitory message to Pakistan and Sri Lanka, as well as to the Caribbean The indefatigable Vice Premier has scheduled visits for next autumn

to Guinea and Ghana China's more pragmatic approach to foreign policy has led to a slight downplaying of its avowed intention of "liberating" Taiwan by force if necessary -the main obstacle to normalization of U.S.-Chinese relations. Returning from a ten-day visit to China two weeks ago, New York Democratic Congressman Lester Wolff reported that China's top foreign policymaker. Vice Premier Teng Hsiaop'ing, had told him that Peking was willing to negotiate its differences on Taiwan with the Nationalist Chinese government Said Wolff: "There was none of the rhetorse we had heard before about the 'murderers on Taiwan. Taiwan was mentioned in a much more conciliatory framework."

n the midst of this new era of inter-nationalism. China has indulged in some unpredictable outbursts of belligerence that have surprised analysts. Peking has angrily cut off all aid to Albania. which until recently was China's sole ideological ally in Europe Two weeks ago, the last of 513 Chinese military advisers and technicians departed from Albania, leaving behind 51 uncompleted aid projects, a deserted Chinese restaurant and the shambles of Chinese-Albanian friendship, which Chairman Mao described only two years ago as "inex-haustible and truly invincible." The origins of the quarrel lie in Albania's hostility to China's policy of rapprochement with the U.S. and the Third World and to Peking's warming relations with Albania's longtime enemy. Yugoslavia Instead of attempting to patch up the quarrel. Peking apparently decided it was time to end the Albanian drain on China's resources-more than \$4 billion since 1954 According to the official Chinese news agency. Peking had been showering grain, steel, tractors and trucks on the





Chinese Vice Premier Keng Piao in Jamaica (top, at right) and on arrival in Pakistan

ungrateful Albanians when China could not spare them. "The Chinese people scrimped on food and clothing and tried their best to aid Albania in the spirit of proletarian internationalism," the agency complained.

he Peking leadership's low threshold The Peking leadership and China's of irritability has also caused China's once close relations with Viet Nam to deteriorate into what one analyst called "China's worst foreign policy disaster since the Cultural Revolution cut the country off from the rest of the world." Ostensibly, the quarrel focuses on two issues China's support for Viet Nam's inimical neighbor, Cambodia, and the fate of 1.2 million ethnic Chinese in Viet Nam. Peking accuses Hanos of subjecting them to persecution and ostracism." While Hanoi denies the charge, 159,000 refugees have crossed the border into southern China. fleeing harsh new economic measures in Viet Nam. Peking has withdrawn its estimated \$300-million-a-year aid to Hanoi, and last week expelled all Vietnamese students from Chinese universities. At the same time, the Chinese news agency charged that Hanoi leaders had sent "spies and other bad elements" into China in the guise of refugees in order to "create disturbances."

"create disturbances.

The real reason for the strife is China's suspicion that Hanol has decisived come under Moscow's influence Although Viet Nam has, in fact, attempted to maintain a balance between the two great powers. China paramelasi of the properties of the properties of the two great powers. China paramelasi with the properties of the properties of the two great powers. The properties of the two great powers. The properties of the two great powers are properties of the with China have foundered, and Hanol may soon be obliged to turn increasingly to Moscow for both aid and moral support

Sinologists are divided on whether China's self-defenting policy toward Viet Nam is caused by inexperience in the conduct of foreign policy, by the notoriously prickly personality of Teng Hsinopring, or by some obscure power struggle in Peking Whatever the reason. China's new activism is not only turning old enemies into new friends, but old friendistin new enemies.



# The Jolly Roger Still Flies

But today's pirates have better weapons than the cutlass

A pair of sluggish old fishing boats were placidly trawling off the southern shore of Thailand on a moonlit night. Suddenly the fishermen spotted two dark silhouettes clipping toward them across the water Skipper Kimheng Phonsawat. 47, did not wait to identify them. Crouching low over his wheel, he instantly directed both his boats to slash their nets and make for nearby Ko Kut Island at full throttle "I could tell by the sound that the other boats had 300-h.p. engines he recalled. "As one of them pulled alongside, we came under rifle fire." Three of Kimbeng's erew were killed, but then the attacking craft inexplicably veered off. Kimheng made it safely to port and next morning returned to the area to search for his other boat. The bodies of three drowned sailors were fished out of the gulf But four other crew members and the trawler had vanished into the still sea Few men live to tell tales of the ma-

rauding buccaneers who currently infest the sea-lanes of Southeast Asia. Piracy has become an all too real contemporary scourge for fishing and commerce across an expanse of ocean stretching from the Malay peninsula to the Philippines. Sumatran pirates constantly harass coastal freighters and fishermen in the Straits of Malacca Privateers from Malaysia and Khmer Rouge hijackers from Cambodia prey on Vietnamese refugee boats drifting across the Gulf of Thailand. One Japanese cargo line considers southern Philippine waters so dangerous that it has ordered its ships bound for Indonesia to detour westward into the South China Sea. Pleasure boats headed toward Bali from Hong Kong and Thailand are warned to stay away from the Celebes Sea

Cutlass and sword are passé. Asian pirates today pounce from hidden coves in supercharged speedboats or trawlers armed with automatic rifles. M-79 grenade launchers and even antitank guns. Their easiest prey is the Bottlid of fishing trawlers, ferries and small trading boats that ply the island waters. The booty includes everything from cargoes of fish to duty-free goods being trafficked in a centuries-old barter trade between East Majassia and the Philippine island of Mindanan. The greed the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the provinces of the provinces of the southern Thai provinces of Trat and Chantaburi last year, more than 300 drown than 300 drown

The rise of Southeast Asian piracy is an indirect outgrowth of the war in Indochina. The end of the conflict provided a bonanza of cheap surplus weaponry. At the same time. Thailand's fishing industry, which expanded to replace Viet Nam's war-torn fleet, had to sail farther and farther to meet demand. As seafood prices tripled, a number of fishermen discovered that it was easier and more profitable to hijack fish than to catch them. Since then, piracy has spread and diversified. Some pirates have even tried attacking big ocean-going ships. In the Sulu Sea, two small armed boats closed in on the 4.837-ton Liberian freighter Rio Colorado and blew out its portholes with automatic rifle fire and hand grenades before the ship could get away. A few months ago, a Panamanian freighter ran aground on a Sulu island after pirates shot out navigational beacons in the shallows. Their assault boats swarmed around the marooned transport in such heavy numbers that the Philippine air force had to be called out to drive them away

Nowhere is piracy more dangerous than in the disputed on man's water off the Thai province of Trat, near the Cambodian border. There, fishing fleets have who have turned to a kind of officially sanctioned piracy since the Phonom Penh regime, like-a number of other governments, extended its territorial claims 200 fishermen were kilded in a single attack off Ke Kuk Island last month.

Although nervous about a direct comfrontation with the Phono Penh government. Thailand has nevertheless reinforced marine police near Cambodia and promised its fishermen that it would increase marine patrols in Malaysian border waters. Malaysia plans to buy 31 additional patrol boats and four special aircraft for pirate detection. The Philippine government has ordered all bartertrade vassels to use special narrow sealanes supervised by the navy.

Few pirates have been caught so far, and authorities fear that it could take years to find mest of them. Unlike the days of Captain Kridd, 1978's pirates do not announce themselves. As a frustrated That police lieutenant lamented last week after an embarrassing falses-alarm search of an innocent travler. "It would be much easier if they still flew the black flag."

## World

LATIN AMERICA

# Politics in the Khaki Embrace

Democracy wins some and loses some

n most of South America, political pow-er is conferred by the barracks rather than the ballot box. Only two of the continent's Latin nations (Colombia and Venezuela) are Western-style democracies: Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and Chile remain under more or less strict military control. In a few countries. however, the armed forces have been trying to ease their khaki embrace-so far

In traditionally turbulent Bolivia. where there has never been an untainted election, the results of yet another crooked one led last week to a sudden coup. Juan Pereda Asbún. 47, an air force general, led his right-wing military followers in seizing key buildings in the city of Santa Cruz. Reason: an electoral court had 1980, but came under heavy U.S. pressure to move the date forward. The way things now stand, a 1980 election might have been the better idea after all. In Ecuador, where the armed forces

have ruled since a 1972 coup, free elections produced at least the prospect of a civilian winner. In fact, there are now two runoff candidates for the country's presidency. The current favorite is the candidate least beloved by the Ecuadorian military: Jaime Roldós Aguilera, 37. leader of the populist Concentration of Popular Forces party (CFP). Roldós received 31% of the 1,408,316 votes cast. His closest rival in a six-candidate field was Sixto Durán Ballén, 57, the army's favorite, with 23%. The runoff election, expected in the fall, promises to be a close one, but

After seven years of nationalization and squandering of Peru's wealth. Velasco was replaced by Bermudez.

The military has since tried to get the country back on its economic feet by backing away from his particular brand of socialism, but there is a long way to go. Peru has a foreign debt of \$8.3 billion, which requires 56% of the country's export revenues to service. The country's central bank has "negative reserves" of \$1.3 billion. Annual inflation is running at 65%, and only half of the 5.3 million-person labor force is fully employed. Brutal austerity measures are required, and the military estimates that only a popularly elected government can carry them out and survive. As Bermudez somewhat optimistically puts it: "Democracy is an inevitable condition to successfully cope with our economic problems."

# Little Red Book

A Bible-study bestseller

n any Western country, publication of a book entitled The Small Encyclopedia of the Bible would hardly have been noticed. But when Hungary's state-owned printing house announced that the title would be one of 135 works introduced during the country's annual book week, the news was sensational. Like every other Communist regime, after all. Hungary's propagates atheism; and while in practice it tolerates religious observance by its 5.8 million Catholics and 2.6 million Protestants, the Bible itself is available in only a single church bookstore in the country. It is frequently out of stock.

Fascinated to discover what a Communist analysis had to say about the opium of the people these days. Hungarians snapped up The Small Encyclopedia's entire 78,000-copy press run well before book week ended, making the book one

of the year's bestsellers The Good Book, it turns out, is not so much good or bad as it is simply there. Describing the Bible as an intrinsic part of secular as well as religious culture. Authors Gusztáv Gecse and Henrik Horváth announce that their goal is to explain it as "a human and literary creation." In a favorable editorial, the Communist Party daily Népszabadság listed three reasons for Communists to gain familiarity with Christianity's handbook. One was to understand such Bible-based expressions as "Solomonic verdict" and "scapegoat," another to "enrich the dialogue with believers." But the most important, said Népszabadság, was that knowing the Bible "can in fact strengthen official ideology." The editorial did not explain how, but its author's own scriptural wanderings presumably had not included Psalm 14, which begins: "The fool hath said in his heart, there is no God



General Juan Pereda Asbún, leader of Bolivia's new military junta

A coup followed a crooked election in which one man was the choice on too many ballots.

thrown out the results of the July 9 presidential balloting, the country's first election since 1966, which had established Pereda as the apparent winner. Bolivia's military leaders, headed by General Hugo Banzer Suarez, 52, declared a national state of siege. Then Banzer abruptly resigned, turning over power to a junta with

Pereda had been the armed forces' preferred candidate for President The difficulty with the election was that he turned out to be the choice on entirely too many ballots. The electoral court noted that there were 49,412 more votes cast than there were registered Bolivian voters. Pereda had been credited with 50.13% of the total vote when the counting stopped, less than two-thirds

Banzer was partly to blame for this calamitous brush with democracy. He had wanted to put off civilian elections until the real wonder is that Roldos has been allowed to campaign at all. He is the protege of Assad Bucaram, a podium-pounding founder of the CFP, whose threatened accession to the presidency prompted the 1972 military coup. Yet Junta Leader Alfredo Poveda has repeatedly promised to respect the election results. If he does, it will mark a step forward for Ecuador. which has averaged a new government every two years since 1830, when it gained independence from Spain In Peru, a new national constituent as-

sembly held its inaugural meeting last week as the country moved back toward democracy. A junta headed by General Francisco Morales Bermúdez Cerruti hopes to hold general elections by 1980. They would be Peru's first since the late General Juan Velasco Alvarado took over in 1968 and launched a messianic crusade for a "noncapitalist, non-Communist, socialistic, fully participatory state."

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# Time Essay

# Cambodia: An Experiment in Genocide

The enormity of the tragedy has been carefully reconstructed from the reports of many eyewitnesses. Some political theorists have defended it, as George Bernard Shaw and other Western intellectuals defended the brutal social engineering in the Soviet Union during the 1990s. Yet it remains perhaps the most dreadful infliction of suffering on a nation by its government in the past three decades. The nation is Cambodia.

On the morning of April 17, 1975, advance units of Cambodin's Communist insurgens, who had been actively fighting the defeated Western-backed government of Marshal Lon Noi for nearly five years, began entering the capital of Phome Penh. The Khmer Rouge looted things, such as watches and cameras, but they did not go on a rampage. They seemed disciplined. And at first, there was general jubilation among the city's terrified, exhausted and bewildered inhabitants. After all, the civil war seemed finally over, the Americans had gone, and order, everyone seemed to assume, would soon be graciously restored.

Then came the shock. After a few hours, the black-uniformed troops began firing into the air. It was a signal for Punior Penh's entire population, swollen by refugees to some 3 millions to abandon the city. Young and old, the well and the sick, businessmen and beggars, were all ordered at gunpoint onto the streets and highways leading into the countryside.

Among the first pitful sights on the road, winessed by seaard Westerners, were patients from Pinnon Penh's grossly overcrowded hospitals, perhaps 20,000 people all told. Even the dying, the maintend and the pregnant were herded out stumbling onto the streets. Several pathetic cases were pushed along the road in their beds by relatives, the intravenous bottles still attached to the bedframes, in some hospitals, foreign doctors were ordered to abmonth with pathetic in mid-teperation. It took two days before the Bruegel-like multitude wild under way, brid days before the Bruegel-like multitude wild under way, brid revolution.

With almost no preparations for so enormous an exodus

—how could there have been with a war on?—thousands died
along the route, the wounded from loss of blood, the weak from
exhaustion, and others by execution, usually because they had

not been quick enough to obey a Khmer Rouge order. Phnom Penh was not alone: the entire urban population of Cambodia, some 4 million people, set out on a similar grotesque pilgrimage. It was one of the greatest transfers of human beings in modern history.

The survivors were settled in villages and agricultural communes all around Cambodia and were put to work for frantic 16or 17-hour days, planting rice and building an enormous new irrigation system. Many died from dysentery or malaria. others from malnutrition, having been forced to survive on a condensed-milk can frice every two days. Still others were laken away at night by Kimer Rouge guartes to be shot or blast— —by execution, starvation and disease—is in the hundreds of thousands. The highest exceeds I million, and that in a country that once numbered on more than 7 million. Moreover, the kill-

ing continues according to the listest refugees. The Roman Catholic cathedrial in Phnom Penh has been razed, and even the native Buddhism is reviled as a "reaction-any" religion. There are no private telephones, no forms of public transportation, no postal service, no universities. A Scandinavian diplomat who fast year visited Phnom Penh—tedby a glond city signs—and on his return. "It was like an absurd film; it was a mightmare. It is difficult to believe it is true."

Vet, why is it so difficult to believe! Have not the worst atrocities of the 20th century all been committed in the name of some pervense pseudo science, usually during efforts to create a new heaven on earth, or even a "new man"? The Nai notion of racial purity led incorothly to Austhwitz and the I mail of a supposedly moral cause—in their case, the desired triumph of socialism. Now the Cambodians have taken bloodbath societology to its logical conclusion. Ard Marx declared that morey was it the heart of man's original sin. Leave (Organization on High), who absorbed soch vertiles



Members of Democratic Kampuchea's new "Mobile Brigade," at work on the construction of dams and Irrigation dikes

# Essay



A deserted street in the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh, which has become a nightmare-like ghost city since the Khmer Rouge triumph

white students in the West, have decided to abolish money How to do that? Well, one simplistic way was to abolish cities, because cities cannot survive without money. The new Cambodian rulers did just that What matter that hundreds of thousands died as the cities were depopulated? It apparently mean little, if anything, to Premier Pol Pot and his shadowy colleagues on the politiburo of Democratic Kampuchea, as they now call

sands died as the cities were depopulated? It apparently meant ittlet if anything to Premier Pol Potan dhi shadowy colleagues on the politiburo of Democratic Kampuchea, as they now call Cambodia. When asked about the figure of I million deaths. President Khiteu Samphan replied. "It's incredible how cerent of our Westerness are about war criminate." Radio Phinon cerent of our Westerness are about war criminate. "Radio Phinon this war "whore than 2,000 years of Cambodian history have virtually ended."

Somehow, the enormity of the Cambodian tragedy—even leaving saids the grim question of how many or how few actually died in Angle Lons' experiment in genecide—has failed to evoke an appropriate response of outrage in the West. To be olater of human rights in the world today. And, true, members of the U.S. Congress have ringingly demounced the Cambodian holocaust. The U.N. ever quick to adopt a resolution condemning Israel of South Africa, acted with its customary tortone-like action when dealing with a Thind World Inverso; custom the Congress of the Co

Partition the greatest shock has been in France, a country where many of Cembodish is seen dreel learned their Mars, and where wenting of resolution has for years been something of a national obsession among the intelligenties. Said New Philosopher Bernard-Henri Levy, a former leftist who has turned against Marrison. We thought of revolution in its pruest form as an angel. The Cambodian revolution was a pure as an arrest contains the anything the literature.

Lesy has clearly pointed out the alysis to which worship of recolution leads. Nonetheless many Western European intellectuals are still relucant to face the issue squarely. If the word "pure" when used by adherents of revolution, are fleet means "barbarous," perhaps the best the world can hope for an 16 fairne political pulpocast is as revolution that vess "corrupt" as possible. Such-skewed vaties are indeed, already rife in some quarrens. During the 1606. Mans Cultural Revolution in 6 fma was was supposedly "pure" particularly by contrast with the harvaccratic studgetings of the Soviet Union. Yet late revolution.

as the Chinese are now beginning to admit, grimly impoversibled the country's science, art. education and literature for a decade. Even the Chinese advocates of "purity" during that une. Chinage Ching and her cromes in the Cang of Four. turned to replace. With less justification, there are intellectuals in the West so committed to the twin Modelsh of our day—"liberation" and "revolution"—that they can actually defend what has happened in Cambodia.

There the insane reversal of values lies is in the belief that nations like 'purity' or 'corruption' can have any meaning outside an absolute system of values one that is reassant to the inferenge at will by governments or revolutionary groups. The Cambodian revolution, in its own degraded "purity," has demonstrated what happens when the Marxian demind of moral absolutes is taken with total seriousness by its adherents. Pol Pet and his friends decide what good is, what bad is, and low many corpses must pile up before this rapacious demon of "purity" is appeasus.

In the West today, there is a pervasive consent to the notion of moral relativism, a reluctance to admit that absolute evil can and does exist. This makes it especially difficult for some to accept the fact that the Cambodian experience is something far worse than a revolutionary aberration Ruther, it is the deadly logical correspondence of an abetastic man-centred logical powers, who believe, with Mars, that morality is whatever the powerful define it to be and, with Man, that power grows from gun barrels. By no coincidence the most humane Marsus societies in Europe today are those that like Poland er Hungary, permit the dilution of their dectrine by what Solzhenitsyn has into tradition. Full fifther is any doubt about what the focus of the purest of revolutionary values is consider the first three lines of the antional anthem of Democratic Kampucha.

The red, red blood splatters the cines and plains of the

The sublime blood of the workers and peasants.

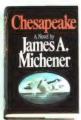
The subtime blood of the workers and peasants.

The blood of revolutionary combatants of both sexes

#### David Aikman

Currently stationed in West Berlin as TIM's Eastern European bureau chief. Atkman was the magazine's last staff correspondent to leave Cambodia a tew days before Phuom Penh fell to the Klimer Rouse

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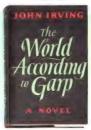
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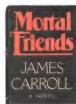




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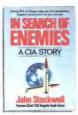
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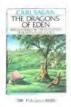
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# Science

# **Epidemic of Grave Robbing**

Plundering pre-Columbian art

eep in Guatemala's Peten rain forin the earth. They suspect that an ancient tomb lies somewhere beneath it. and before long, their hunch is confirmed Just below the surface, they uncover a huge limestone slab, or stela, inscribed with Mayan symbols. A little deeper they find the tomb, filled with jade and alabaster jewelry. brilliantly colored ceramic platters and other priceless antiquities created by Mayan craftsmen long before



"Ric mask" facade detail from Mayan temple

Columbus reached the shores of the New

When such ancient treasures are discovered in Guatemala and many other Latin American nations they legally become part of the national heritage and cannot be taken from the country without official sanction. But to the stealthy diggers in the Guatemalan jungle the

Linding their newly discovered stela too heavy to cart away mact the thieves they load the chunks onto burros and head for the border Within days their

contraband enters the flourishing black market in pre-Columbian antiquities, to be bought by rich collectors in the U.S. Western Europe or Japan.

Plundering of ancient objects has flourished since the days of the conquistadors, who shipped to Spain al-

most all the gold artifacts that came within their grasp, often melting them down beforehand But lately the thieves have become more sophisticated and nearly uncontrollable

Every year thousands of pre-Hispanic objects-Mayan stelae. Aztec jewelry. Incan pottery. Olmec figurines—are smuggled out of Mexico, Central America and the Andean nations of South America. The illicit trade easily reaches millions of dollars annually and involves characters so bizarre they might have stepped out of an old Humphrey Bogart film shrewd peasants, soldiers of fortune, venal archaeologists, dealers, diplomats and collectors who are ready to pay-or do-almost anything to satisfy

Because the value of pre-Columbian art spirals upward faster than California real estate, even the largest treasures are not safe. Last month a quarter-ton stone figure of an ancient priest chewing coca. known as El Coquero and dating back some 3,000 years, vanished from its site in San Agustin in southwest Colombia Leuadorian officials are trying to retrieve an entire 11.000-item collection of Andean treasures that somehow

managed to turn up in Milan and Turin, where they were be-

Sometimes the thefts are implicitly sanctioned In Colombia, a group of guaqueros, as grave robbers are called there, has applied for and received official recognition as a labor union Another veteran Colombian guaquero is so proud of his career that he has published his memoirs. His calling is not without risk. Earlier this year Arhuaco Indians hacked pillaged a temple site in Colombia's Sierra Nevada de Aztec coyote Santa Marta

the illegal trade. They contend that it might otherwise be neglected or lost by countries too impoverished to take prop-

But the grave robbers damage an-



about ancient civilizations U.S. Archaeologist Emil Peterson tells how he and his team of diggers from Ouito's Central Bank museum would spend weeks at a site, painstakingly excavating only a few inches at a time in order to preserve all

possible traces. Then one morning they would find that thieves had come by in the night and obliterated most of the evidence Eventually, barbed wire had to be installed

and guards posted

To curtail assaults on their history. Latin American governments have passed stiff new laws against smuggling. stepped up customs inspections and exerted pressure on other governments to cooperate in the fight against the thefts. The U.S., for its part, has made it illegal to import any pre-Columbian object without the approval of its country of origin, and customs officials have become more vigilant

useums and prominent art dealers. too, are more careful about acquiring pre-Columbian art. As a result, several stolen treasures have been quietly returned from the U.S. Among them a rose-colored panel dominated by the Mavan sun god, taken from a temple in the Mexican state of Campeche, and part of an ancient staircase from Tamarindito

Still, the policing job is enormous Mexico alone contains at least 11.000 ar-

chaeological sites Says one official "The whole Mexican army wouldn't be enough to guard all of them." Peru must try to protect the remains of diverse cultures spanning more than 3,000 years I ven when guards and inspections are used, some officials concede that bribery often eases the way for thefts. Yet another complication is a thriving trade in bogus pre-Columbian pieces Often using the same techniques as their ancestors the forgers are so skilled that even experts can have trouble distinguishing the fakes

Despite the formidable ob-

seem determined to save what remains of their ancient national heritage Ixplains Silvio Mutal a Lima-based UN gle to preserve Andean culture. We are their countries of origin so that the de-



# Law

# Soviet Justice: Still on Trial

When politics enters in, legality goes out the window

The wheels of Soviet justice ground on grimly last week. Three just-convicts of disadents, Annoti Sheharmacky, Vik-cut and the state of the state of

Among other things, the trials focused new attention on how—and how fairly—justice is administered in the Soviet Union today. The answer seems to be much better than in the days of Stalin, when enemies of the state would be shot or sent off to labor camps with or without summary trials. But while the forms of legality are more closely observed to-day, political repression persists.

use the fine the source fenal system has many similarities with those of Continental European countries. A written constitution provides for freedom of speech, press and religion, and trials are to be fair and open. Yet just what the constitution means in a Soviet context can be illustrated by a pre-arrest chat a few years ago between a kuti officer and a dissident, protects fee agreech. Plead: "we're having a serious conversation."

Speech is free in the U.S.R. as long as it serves the Communist system, as interpreted by the party leadership. When the state perceives a threat to its welfare. Western ideas about civil rights go out the window. The forms remain—courts, judges, defense lawyers—but in political trials the result is predetermined and the proceedings are often secret and usually travesties.

Technically, crimes are never classified as political in rare cases, like Sheharmasky, a full-scale treates charge is a full-scale treates charge is a full-scale treates charge is a functional treates and a functional treates and a functional treates and a functional treates and a functional treates a

ner demanding the right to leave the country.

Still, secret political trials are an unlawful abernation in Soviet justice, possibly one that is questioned within the
party itself. Says Harward Law Professor
Harold Berman, a 30-year observer of Soviet procedures. "My guess is that there
is a conflict between the leaders, perhaps
within the Koff itself. Some say they have
to be careful with trials Others say it is
toe dangerous to led dissent continue."

As in Western countries, the accused has the right to be defended by a lawyer. However, he can legally be held incommunicado for a total of nine months before trial, and in reality even longer if the Supreme Soviet so decrees (Shcharansky was isolated for more than a year). And before a mentally competent adult defendant can see his lawyer, he is subjected to a pretrial investigation that amounts to what Columbia Law Professor John Hazard calls a "rehearsal" of his actual trial. Extensive pretrial inquiry is not unique to the Soviet Union: many countries in Europe have a similar procedure, though in France, for instance, the



Judge and two "lay assessors" listening to defendant (far right) and accuser in rape trial Dissidents seeking lawyers are "like terminal patients who go to doctors."

# "Nothing to Retract"

The two accused American newsmen passed up their own trail: a movie projector sat where defendants normally do in the seedy Moscow courtroom. While Craig Whitmoy of the New York Timer and Haradol Piper of the Bulkingor San vacationed in the U.S. last week, Soviet Judge Lev Almazov ruled that they had disseminated "libelous informacial only, they had appeared sources doubting the authenticity of a dissident's confession broadcast on Soviet TV.

of a dissident's councies to protect their sources grather than the presence to charges they dismissed as merities. But the prosecutor used the trial to hists the "bourgeois" press for pouring "barrels of black paint on a foreign country." And the dissident in question, convicted Georgian Nationalist Zivaid Gamsakhurdia, udity appeared in ourt, accompanied by two guards, viewed the film of his confession, and pronounced it undextored.

The court ordered both papers to print retractions; both refused, Said Sun Publisher Donald H. Patterson: "There is

simply nothing to retract." Each newsman was ordered to pay \$1,647 in court costs; the *Times* was weighing its response, but the *Sun* decided to pay. Said Managing Editor Paul Banker: "We don't want to appear defiant of the Soviet iudicial system, such as it is."

When Whitney and Piper return as planned within the next month, they may be subjected to Soviet thansament. Whether Moscow takes further action may depend on what washingtin odes. By way of note-ov-elied threat, the State status of the San Francisco bureau of the Soviet press agenty. The status of the San Francisco bureau of the Soviet press agenty. The status of the San Francisco bureau of the Soviet press agentication and the state of the San Francisco bureau of the Soviet and the moves that Pressident Carter had made after Dissident Amatolis Sichariansky's conviction. He canceled the sale of a Sperry Univestigation of the San Soviet Union under his personal control.

The Soviets clearly hoped that the Whitney-Piper episode might scare other Western newsmen off the dissidents story But as U.S. Ambassador Malcolm Toon told some American reporters in Moscow: "Knowing you as I do, I can't think their action will have that effect on you." New National Smoker Study:

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proceedings are conducted by a judicial magistrate independent of the prosecutor. In the Soviet Union, the inquiry is run by the procuracy, a watchdog agency that both supervises the legal system and acts as prosecutor—with obvious potential for conflict of interest.

Unless politics is involved, the trials themselves are generally open, but there is no jury. The two quasi juros —called "lay assessors"—who sit with the judge are picked with party approval, not at random, as are U.S juros. "They're sort of like a blue-ribbon grand jury," says Haard, "only ned-ribbon,"

Judges are usually law-school graduates, but they are "chosen" by the party for five-year terms, and thus beholden to the state. They do not sit back and impartially listen to defense and prosecutor spar, as in American courts; rather, they are given a full dossier on the defendant and often lead the questioning, with the prosecution chiming in Says Leon Lipson, a professor of law at Yale: "I wouldn't say the judges do nothing but carry out orders for party bosses to convict Comrade Petrov and pardon Comrade Sidorov, but most judges are at some level subject to party discipline and they know where the accent has to be." Still, Lipson cautions, "there are many cases where judges perform a real function, and the result is not preordained.

Under Anglo-American justice, a de-

fendant is tried only for the crime in question. In the Soviet Union, however, the defendant's morality and usefulness to Soviet society are on trial. During Stalin's time, the defense lawyer could argue mitigating circumstances, but he seldom claimed that his client was innocent. Today, defense lawyers can enter a plea of not guilty-though in political cases, there are sure to be repercussions. "Lawvers know they can't do much in those cases. says Berman, paraphrasing a former Soviet lawyer. "The accused are like patients with terminal illnesses who go to doctors." A lawyer must be cleared by the KGB to defend dissidents; several years ago, one who had the gall to claim his client's innocence was promptly disbarred. (Although Soviet lawyers rate less money and esteem than scientists, economists and engineers, they are generally well trained.

A convicted defendant can usually appeal. But appeals are not frequent, and successful ones are rare. So are accurate statistics on the extent of Soviet crime, political or otherwise. Dissident Andrei Sarkharov has estimated that 15 million to forced-labor camps. There are no official figures, of course-crime in an ideal Communist society, like the law itself, is supposed to just wither away.

Many supplement their official incomes

by a practice known as mikst, meaning

"maximum exploitation of the client

above the fee schedule.")

# Milestones

MARRIAGE REVEALED, Taylor Caldwell, 77. prolific and bestselling novelist (This Side of Innocence. Dear and Glorious Physician, Great Lion of God): and Robert Prestie, 60, her manager: she for the fourth time, he for the second: on July 6 in Eric. Pa.

DIED. Fyodor Kulakov, 60. Soviet Politburo member and former National Party Secretary for Agriculture; of a heart attack, in Moscow. The youngest man to serve simultaneously on the 14-member Polithuro and the Secretariat. Kulakov rode out the disastrous grain harvest of 1975 and was reportedly being groomed to succeed Brezhnev. Named Party Secretary for Agriculture in 1965 and Politburo member in 1971. Kulakov resigned his Secretariat post in 1976 to broaden his expertise. That year he delivered the keynote address at the traditional celebration of the Rolshe. vik Revolution, and his attendance at Yugoslavia's congress last month confirmed his good standing as a Brezhnev protégé.

DIED. Gerald Warner Brace. 76. novelist of the New England scene (among his eleven books. The Garretson Clironitele and The Islands) and longtime professor of English at Boston University: of cancer: in clience and off-philmored dissociations of the clience and one of clience distortion and above all, the enduring power of feasion.

DED. Henri Moureu, 79. French scientists who in World War II helped to frustrate Nazi efforts to make an atom bomb and later sawed Paris from rocketing, in Pau. France: Assigned in 1940 to guard france's assert reserve of deuterium oxide theavy wateri. Moureu hid it in a prison cell, then smuggled it to England. In 1946, when the Germans unveiled V-2 working the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties of the properties. The case helped principal sunching sites targeted on Paris, which were destroyed by U.S. Sombers.

DIED. Jackson Tate, 79. retired Navy admiral who won a two-year diplomatic battle to meet the daughter produced by his fleeting wartime affair with a Soviet actress: of cancer: in Jacksonville. Fla Stationed in Moscow in 1945. Tate met and courted Film Star Zoya Evodorova, Soviet authorities banished Tate and sent Evodorova to a hard-labor camp for eight years. Not until 1963 did Tate learn that a daughter, Victoria, had been born of one of their last trysts. Finally in 1975, Vietoria, now a film star herself, was granted a three-month exit visa to visit the U.S. Soon after a highly publicized meeting with her father, she married an American pilot and settled in Connecticut

# **Theater**

# **Bumper Crop**

A guide to Broadway

A record 17 million visitors are expected in New York City this year. For those with the theater on their travel agenda, the pick of Broadway's bumper crop of 27 offerings:

A Chorus Line. Terpsichore is the divine Muse of this musical as Choreographer Michael Bennett takes the parade-ground drill of the Radio City Rockettes and raises it to a Platonic idea.

Ain't Misbehavin'. This handsome tribute to Fats Waller is a jumpin Harlem cantata of urban night music. Winner of the New York Drama Critics Circle and Tony Awards for Best Musical, 1978.

Chapter II. Neil Simon, the bluechip comic writer of the Broadway stage, adds a reflective dimension as he ponders the shadow of a first wife's death falling across the path of a second bride.

Da. A middle-aged Irishman bids his father's ghost adieu, but the ghost kicks up his heels in witty, wise and mischievous ways. A medal should be struck for every member of a marvelous east headed by Barnard Hughes as Da. Dancin'. It's a wonder that audiences can keep their feet still as they watch the electric and eelectic dance inventions of Choreographer Bob Fosse.

Deathtrap. Like a boa constrictor, this

murder mystery coils lethally around its characters. Marinating menace with a lunatic humor. John Wood, a superb actor, can make a playgoer die laughing.

Dracula. Looking like a haunted Byronic prince. Frank Langella sucks blood as if it were champagne

Gemini. An earthy Italo-American family comedy that the early William Saroyan might have enjoyed or, for that matter,

I Love My Wife. A saucily engaging musical in which two pairs of would-be swinging couples get into bed together only to find that monogamous love is more than sin deen

The Best Little Whorehouse in Texas.
The words but never the actions are raw in this folksy, affectionate and hilarious musical about the closing of a bordello.

The Gin Game. Facing death with a certain caustic equanimity has become a popular stage theme in the past couple of seasons. In this play, a cantankerous old man and an assertive old lady play bracing games of gin rummy even though the cards of life are stacked against them.

7.E. Kalem

# **Economy & Business**

# A Bit of Help from Big Labor

A stop-the-clock postal pay deal aids the battle against inflation

Il across the country, mailmen gathered in their union offices, and as the tension began to rise. Would there or would there or would there or would there not be a postal strike in the morning? The answer came shortly after 4a.m. Washington, D.C., time, when Emmel Andrews, head of the American Post-office of the American Post-office of the American Post-office of the American Post-office of the Pederal Mediation Service. After a tense: all-night bargaining session that capped 17 weeks of lattle between the U.S. Postal Service and its 570,000 unionized on a new three-war contract.

The deal was bracing news not only for the postal workers who generally expressed satisfaction with the terms, but also for Jimmy Carter. At long last, the White House could claim its first cred-ble victory in the struggle to curb spiraling wage settlements. Big Labor's earner successes in winning 10° or more consistent of the part of the past of the p

le digits

The postal workers' agreement, for which the Administration had tirelessly lobbied, is a small but significant departure from those egregious gains. It is also a good deal more moderate than what the postal workers had originally demanded, and could well wind up giving them somewhat lower increases than they enjoyed under their last contract

The old contract provided scheduled wage rises of about 10% over three years. 10% more in cost-of-living increases, and pushed the average pay of postal workers to a level of \$7.58 an hour, vs. \$5.62 for pri-

The new deal will hold automatic wage increases to about the same level as under the old contract, but will tighten the contract but will tighten the contract of the contract

Though the postmen had initially demanded wage increases that would have totaled 14% in the first year alone, the real sticking point in the talks was that the Postal Service wanted to drop the no-layoff clause that was in the old contract. The unions feared that increasing automation in the sorting of mail could put more and more of their members out of work. Finally, at 10 pm. last Thursday, two hours before the formal expiration of the contract. the Postal Service negations agreed to retain the no-layoff service and the contract and the service of the contract and the

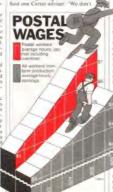
The Administration remained officially silent on the results, perhaps taking a lesson from its inexp handling of last winter's coals relieve when Careland was not elevation to proclaim the strike setted only to have the miner reject the past in a ratification voit. The postal comparts the artification voit. The postal combenship of four separate unions in votes that begin next week. Having leaned on the Postal Service to hang tough in the negoliations, the White House was not eager to be seen gloating over the result. want to do anything to complicate the ratification process."

The postal pay deal was the last major union contract on the negotiation calendar this year and the first one to be settled within reasonable limits. Last March, in a peace-at-any-price frenzy, the Administration pressured coal operators into accepting a contract that will increase miners' total compensation by perhaps as much as 39% over the next three years. Two weeks ago, despite considerable White House jawboning, the railroads agreed to raise the wages of 340,000 of their workers by nearly as much. The Administration recognized that unless that pattern were broken with the postal workers, there would be even higher demands by other labor unions in 1979, when the calendar of negotiations is particularly heavy. Beginning next spring, contracts for some of the largest and most powerful unions in the country-including the auto workers, the electrical workers and the Teamsters

come up for renewal There could be much trouble, since some labor chieftains seem to be in a battling mood. Last week United Auto Workers President Douglas Fraser, invoking some classstruggle rhetoric that sounded like the 1930s, resigned from the semiofficial Labor-Management Group. That body was set up under Gerald Ford as a forum for corporate and union leaders to meet privately, debate common problems and advise the White House Said Fraser "Why pretend that labor and management in this country are sitting down and discussing the great issues of the day and that they have something in common when

they have something in common when they don't?" The auto worker boss also declared that labor has become so disenchanted with the Democratic Party that there is talk of bolting and forming a third party.

The union leaders are upset because they turned out the vete for Carter in 1976, but his Administration has failed to push through many of their fisvoirie bills. They have also been incorrect in the control of the control of their Carter's inflation fighters that labor has done nothing to help slow the rise in prices. With the postal settlement, however, both sides have the chance to change their turnes. Labor leaders can say that the postal verkers accepted a say that the postal verkers accepted a on the back for that—and implore other



# A Summit of Moderate Success

And everybody gets some homework in his weakest subjects

or the world's industrial democracies, the great peril is that they will fall into a new recession before most of them have fully recovered from the last one. Hoping to avoid such a tumble, the leaders of seven\* nations have journeyed four times in the past three years to much-heralded economic summits, where they have issued ringing, sometimes even rambunctious, declarations about their resolve to cure ills. So far, they have been unable to solve the multiple problems of slow growth, threatening levels of inflation and high unemployment. Last week, as the leaders of the Seven returned home from the Bonn summit, the question was

Would anything be different this time?

Perhaps. At Bonn there were a refreshing spontaneity and a more realistic approach to problems than in the
earlier meetings. Said Jimmy Carter
"We don't pull any punches in our
private meetings."

Helmut Schmidt, as host and chairman, the show with typical decisiveness. Said a top U.S. official: "The man is a born leader." Participating in his second economic summit, the U.S. President was not the dominant partner.

Having made some pledges at Bonn. the leaders now must try to sell them to their legislatures back home, and in several cases that will be difficult. Here is an area-by-area rundown of the plights and promises of the Seven:

a 13% drop from the same period in 1977
—because conservation is working, and
oil is arriving from Alaska. Carter also
promised to counter the nation's doubledigit inflation.

Canada's Trudeau vowed to achieve a 5% growth rate for his nation, but almost no one in Canada took him seriously. At present Canada's growth rate is so low (2.8%), inflation so high 9% and unemployment so troublesome (8.6%) that Trudeau, with a current budget deficit of \$11.5 billion, is boxed in from tak-

ing any strong economic initiatives.

Japan. In the picture-taking session of summitteers. Japan's Fukuda alone was avate sessions. No he had come under withering criticism for his country's gigantic trade surplus (57 billion last year), which helps to undermine the world's moneutry area of the property of the proper



in Bonn, from ie

ful. very argumentative at times."
The most immediate progress came on noneconomic issues. Japanese Premier Takeo Fukuda popped a surprise idea for

an agreement among the Seven that would sever airline traffic with any nation encouraging or harboring terrorist hijackers. The proposal passed unanimously After considerable cajoling by his fel-

low summitteers. President Carret cased his stand against the export of nuclear fuel. He and Canadian Prime Minister Pierre Trudeus agreed that their countries would be "reliable suppliers" of enriched uranium to the Western Europeans and Japanese, provided that those nations impose stricter safeguards against the spread of atomic weapons; they said they would do so.

Earlier summits had produced grand, and unfulfilled, plans for encouraging economic growth. But at Bonn the leaders moved toward specific solutions for individual difficulties. In essence, each participant, would attempt to correct problems that are hurting trading partners and mat quipped. "It's a bit like being sent home by the teacher with a homework assignment in your weakest subject."

There was no doubt about who the teacher was West German Chancellor 'Brian, Canada France Italy Japan the U.S. SOARING PRICES, SLAY
Percent change in real GNP
1977 1978 projection
Percent increase in consumer price index On 6 Doc.
1977 1978 projection
Lapas 1978 pr

yen against the U.S. dollar. Ironically, a number of the country's domestic producers are being driven out of business by lowpriced imports from developing lands. At some Japanese plants, workers are destroying textile machinery so it can be sold as seran.

Western Europe. Until now. West Germany has accepted the discomforts of slow growth and high unemployment (1 million, or 4.4% of the work force) in order to keep inflation at a low 2.7% Schmidt promised to do what he had planned even before the summit: put in a stimulus plan It calls for pumping \$7 billion into the West German economy. largely through tax cuts, and should make his country a larger buyer of imports. Britain's James Callaghan, who faces elections in the fall, was the most cautious. He pledged only to continue his present policy of expanding output by a modest 15 while keeping up the fight against inflation, now down to 7.4% from 27% four years ago. President Valery Giscard d'Estaing promised to pep up the French economy a bit by more government spending. doubling the nation's deficit to \$4.4 billion this year

The country that is least capable of recovery made the boldest promises. Premier Giulio Andreotti pledged to tame inflation and lift Italy's economic growth rate to 3.7% by cutting government ex-

# **Economy & Business**

penditures, reducing welfare outlays and funneling more funds into industry. Milan's Corriere della Sera called Andreotti's pledges "gambling Italy's credibility."

There will be another summit next year, it was agreed, probably in Tokyo. But the inability of past summits to accomplish much brought forth a question that haunted some of this year's participants: Has the world entered a new era of slow economic growth?

Many economists believe that the quarter of a century of strong, sustained expansion from 1948 until the oil price increases of 1973 has given way to a period of sluggishness and high inflation. Walt W. Rostow, who was one of Lyndon Johnson's chief aides, argues that the world slow growth theory is very dangerous says Manfred Wegener, the chief European Community forecaster. "It could too easily become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Assistant Secretary of the Treasury C. Fred Bergsten is optimistic. Says he: "I'm not sure you can't get back to higher rates of growth. Everyone is running well below historic rates of capacity.

Among the chief problems afflicting the global economy are lack of capital investment, and a psychological climate of uncertainty brought on by a recognition that resources are limited. These problems have been aggravated by imprudent governments, whose high taxes and stiff bureaucracies have tended to stifle pri-

vate initiative and investment.



Japanese workmen smash textile machines for scrap as cheap imports capture the market After a quarter-century of rise, worries that the world is riding a downside curve.

has begun a new downward turn on the Kondratieff Cycle. In the 1920s Russian Economist N.D. Kondratieff theorized that capitalist economic development proceeds in up-and-down waves of 50 to 60 years each, which are determined by the confluence of invention, investment and trade. As Rostow explains it, the elements that caused the postwar boom (rapid technological advances, expanding trade and growing population) have lost their momentum.

Lester Brown, the president of Worldwatch Institute, a Washington-based environmental research group, believes that the world's life-supporting resources, notably soil, grasslands, forest and fish, are either deteriorating or being depleted, and that these factors inevitably will lead to less growth and more inflation Not all experts agree. "I believe the

Given half a chance, the industrialized world could soon enter another era of growth. Great new markets could open for industrial products in the developing world, and the industrialized world itself still has unmet needs for housing, clothing, transportation. But in order to evoke a healthy response to such challenges. governments must advance policies that create confidence, reward innovation, and encourage investors.

At the Bonn summit, the leaders of the Seven achieved a positive move in that direction by agreeing to combat inflation while seeking to encourage moderate growth. But those good intentions must now be translated into action. Otherwise, the world seems destined to move unevenly from one quick-fix summit to the next without ever coming to grips with the underlying problems.

# Squeeze on the Soviets

Is trade a good weapon?

powerful nations always use international trade as a political weapon, and America is no exception. Washington has placed restrictions on U.S. companies doing business with countries as ideologically different as Fidel Castro's Cuba. Ian Smith's Rhodesia and Idi Amin's Uganda -often with mixed results and doubtful gains. Last week the U.S. once more waved its trade cudgel, this time against the Soviet Union. And again the move sparked debate over whether it is wise

and whether it will work. In his Administration's first major response to Russia's sentencing of dissidents. Jimmy Carter canceled a \$6.8 million sale of an advanced Sperry Rand computer to Tass, the official Soviet news agency. At the same time, he said that he was making all U.S. exports of oil technology to the Soviets subject to Government license. That was a clear warning that within the next few weeks he might ban the \$144 million sale to Russia by Dresser Industries of a plant to produce advanced oil-drilling equipment.

omputer sales have long required Government approval. But the energy offensive is all new, and it brought a growl from Moscow, as well as a bitter response from American businessmen, disgusted at their new role as Ping Pong balls in East-West diplomacy. It also highlighted the longstanding sharp differences of opinion within the Administration over the wisdom of using trade to pressure or punish the Communists.

Reversing the trend of recent years. the hawks now have control. Led by National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski and a hard-line group from Congress. they convinced Carter that he had to respond to the Soviets forcefully and with more than words. Russia's threatening energy shortage, they argued, combined with its growing dependence on American technology, meant that a ban on certain exports could win political concessions.

Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps has led the battle against Brzezinski, with support from both the State Department and the Treasury. This group argues that any trade shutoff will not soften Russia's stand on human rights and will hurt U.S. economic interests. American sales, it notes, make up only a small percentage of Soviet imports. Though U.S. goods are sometimes superior. Carter's move would hardly cripple the huge Soviet economy. and Moscow can always turn to other countries that are eager to do business. Said one top U.S. official in Washington: It's a Greek tragedy. We are challenging the Russian manhood. Do we really think that the Russians are going to free dis-





In 1908, Naomi Fett couldn't understand why more women didn't sneak cigarettes in the Emperor's clock

You've come a long way, baby.

# VIRGINIA

Slimmer than the lat agarettes men smoke.



16 mg" tar;" 0.9 mg nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report May 78

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

# IS IT WORTH RISKING YOUR LIFE FOR 45 MILES PER GALLON?



Tiny little subcompact cars may be great for saving gas. But as accident statistics show, they're not particularly safe.

A Volvo, on the other hand, gets a very respectable 29 m.p.g. highway—19 m.p.g. city\* But ultimately, we put a much higher premium on life than we do on gasoline.

The roomy passenger compartment of a Volvo is surrounded by six steel pillars, each one strong enough to support the weight of the entire car.

Crumple zones, front and rear are designed to absorb the impact of a collision, rather than passing it on to the passengers.

As a matter of fact, the federal government is so impressed with Volvo's crash worthiness they've become one of our biggest customers. They bought more than 60 Volvos, many of which have been crashed into each other at closing speeds of up to 90 m.p.h. in an effort to establish safety standards for cars of the future.

So before you buy your next car, weigh carefully what you have to gain and lose.

A big substantial Volvo can not only save gas. It could end up conserving something much more precious.

PA compare based on New Action with manual temporary or Mile up was a water model on the area of town strong rather care consistent and apaging



**VOLVO. A CAR YOU CAN BELIEVE IN.** 

# **Economy & Business**

Speculating on a successor



er than to take a vacation later this month. and to have his desk at Ford cleaned out in time for his formal departure on Oct. 15. Auto executives traded rumors all week that facocca had been tapped for a top job at Chrysler Corp., a story Chrysler directors denied. Other reports had him negotiating with major corpo-

To Ford executives, the more immediate question was who, if anyone, will be named to succeed Iacocca. By present reading, the front runner is Executive Vice President William Bourke, 51, who heads the company's North American automotive division. A self-confident and well-traveled manager who converses with authority about world politics and many other subjects. Bourke has hardly been coy about his ambition to move into lacocca's office. He was not happy to be left out of the 1977 reorganization that set up the office of the chief executive

Even if he is named to the presidency, real power is likely to remain with the four-member executive office itself. Its head is Henry Ford II. but since last April.



William Bourke previews Ford's '79 Mustang On a fast track in the glass house

After lacocca

lacocca professed no future plans oth-

rations outside the auto industry.

Chairman Philip Caldwell, 57, a cultivated executive whose calm manner is in marked contrast to the fire-breathing dynamism of Jacocca. In short, at this stage in the history of Ford Motor Co., Caldwell is clearly Henry Ford's No. 2 man.

and the new president will be No 3. Whoever does succeed Jacocca will have a tough act to follow. In 1964. Iacocca catapulted himself to prominence by doing much to design the Mustang and directing the marketing drive that made it the bestselling new car ever. He had been scheduled to offer some remarks last week at the press preview of the 1979 version, the Mustang III, but was dropped from the program Ford is placing much hope on the car's radical restyling, with a Mercedes-like rear end and a long list of luxury options, to revive Mustang sales. which have sagged in the past couple of years. Iacocca will have nothing to do with selling it to the public, of course, but his mark will be on the new car: He helped to restyle the Mustang

# **High Drama**

Columbia drops a president

W hen David Begelman was forced out as president of Columbia Pictures, his friends in the movie industry vowed that they would get even. Last week they did. By a 6-to-1 vote, the board of Columbia Pictures Industries, the parent company, fired its president and chief executive. Alan Hirschfield, 42. Begelman's allies on the board pretended that Hirschfield's dismissal from his \$250,000a-year job was not related to the dispute Nonsense, said Hirschfield. 'I lay it all on the Begelman affair.

Last fall, after Begelman confessed to the board that he had embezzled \$84,000 from the company by forging checks and padding his expense account, some directors wanted to keep the affair quiet. They hoped to protect Begelman, whose smash films (Close Encounters, The Deep) had saved the company. But Hirschfield insisted on suspending Begelman and revealing his wrongdoings With that. Hirsehfield lost support of the board powers. notably his longtime mentor. Investment Banker Herbert Allen Begelman was indicted for fraud and placed on probation for three years. Even so, he has a \$1.5 million three-year contract as an independent producer for Columbia

To replace Hirschfield, the directors set up a four-man Office of Chief Executive. Its members Board Chairman Leo Jaffe: Financier Dan Lufkin: Matthew Rosenhaus, president of the company that makes Geritol and Sominex; and the new Columbia Pictures president, Francis T Vincent Until last week Vincent was an associate director of the Securities and Exchange Commission. Though Vincent himself was not involved, the SEC has been investigating Columbia Pictures.

irritating the Politburo

nmerce Secretary Juanita Kreps

buy from the French?"

Some worries that a weapon could backfire

sidents over a computer that they could

and tough. Izvestia warned that the U.S.

policy would lead to "a road of confron-

tation," and Prayda thundered that "this

is an old, rusty instrument of pressure and

blackmail." Indeed, there is a growing

suspicion that trade policy could backfire

and produce a new clampdown on dis-

sidents, since the Russians will want to

show that they cannot be publicly bul-

lied. This happened four years ago, when

Congress effectively denied most-favored-

nation tariff status to the Soviet Union be-

cause it would not permit freer emigra-

tion of minorities. All that led to a

worsening of U.S.-Soviet relations and an

immediate slowing of exit visas for Jews.

Even some U.S. Jewish organizations are

now coming to accept that trade threats

has only administered a mild wrist slap.

Whether he will, or indeed can, swing a

large trade club remains doubtful Re-

strictions could be extended to all com-

mercial exports and even to grain sales.

but Russian harvests are good at the mo-

ment, and a ban would hurt U.S. farmers

and cause a domestic political storm. The

Administration is already playing its so-

called "China card"-letting U.S. oil

companies negotiate with Peking about

offshore drilling rights and technical ex-

changes-but this is doing little more than

substantial: largely because the Soviets are

short of hard currency. America's non-

farm exports to Russia are dropping, from

\$819 million in 1976 to an expected \$400

million this year. Can trade ever be an ef-

fective weapon? Says Kreps: "The bot

tom line is that the cases in which you

can use trade in this way are very few

Trade between the two nations is not

Hard-liners insist that Carter so far

cannot help Soviet minorities

The Soviet reaction was immediate

# **Economy & Business**

Executive View/Marshall Loeb

# **Enterprise in the Valley**

here is a lot of talk that the small businessman cannot make a mark in There is a lot of talk that the small coshlessman competition. Maybe the these days of high prices, costly credit and crushing competition. Maybe the skeptics and fainthearted should motor to California's green-carpeted Napa Valley and speak with Joe Heitz, entrepreneur

Heit/ started with almost nothing, and he certainly is no Henry Ford II. but he can say, with Ford's proud independence, "My name is on the building. Right in his backyard, in two gray stone structures that are 100 paces from his white frame house. Heitz, Wife Alice. Son David and four hired hands make a product that is sold in half the nation's states. He is chief executive of Heitz Wine Cellars, which means that he is also vintner, bacteriologist, accountant. marketing manager and occasional lawn mower.

Many professional critics call steely-haired, iron-willed Joe Heitz. 58, one of America's two or three best wine makers. His 1970 Cabernet Sauvignon knocked off the fabled Château Latour, Château Lafite Rothschild and other French pedigrees in some blind tastings. When French experts sent him a praising letter, he wrote back: "Why don't you lower your import barriers?" The visitor gets the idea that Heitz would have done well even if he were making caps

or car wax instead of wine



e Heitz with home product

To all aspiring entrepreneurs, he preaches: "I started this business in the 1960s, and in some ways it would be harder to start now-but it also would be easier." He got a stake by "borrowing from Peter to pay Paul, and then borrowing from somebody else to pay Peter." A friend put up \$5,000. Today, says Heitz. \$5,000 is nothing. "On the other hand, it is easier today to get much more money. Now people become instant successes

In any enterprise, Heitz believes, the small businessman can excel against the big, rich competitor if he is willing to do several things:

Learn all the technology, says Heitz, who got his own lessons working for a succession of California vintners and picked up the scientific nuances by studying and teaching oenology at California colleges. Don't give in to adversity, he adds. In his first year on his own, he was struck by an almost biblical series of plagues: early frost, freakish

heat, then hepatitis. Friends in the valley pitched in to help him pick and press his crop. "You know." he muses, "people like to see you succeed. People like to see a family working together."

Pay attention to the smallest details. Heitz advises. He prowls his winery like a top sergeant making a bed check, looking, listening, sniffing, "You can sense if something is wrong," he testifies. "Do you hear a knock or a rattle? Maybe an air

conditioner has to be fixed. You need good ears." And, he continues. "people say that the machinery is automatic. Nothing is automatic

The entrepreneur must recruit a few loyal aides and work them hard. Young oenology graduates clamor to join Heitz because he is demanding, and he has them do everything. To them, he is a combination of Captain Bligh and Father Flanagan. With Heitz working alongside, they perform every operation: run the crushers and the bottling line, even paint the barrel hoops black because Joe wants them to look neat. His philosophy: "If your place looks like you don't care, your employees won't care. And extreme meticulousness is the most important factor in making fine wine." Or almost any other product.

Finally, the businessman should recognize virtues in remaining fairly small. "If you make a certain-sized batch of a product," Heitz contends, "it usually turns out much better than if you make three or four times that much." He intends to level out his own production when it reaches 40,000 cases annually, up

from about 35,000 this year

Joe Heitz has turned down a fistful of offers to sell out to big companies. He prefers to live out an American ideal, working with his family, building his own enterprise. Says Heitz, brown eyes squinting in the California sun: "Alice and I started this business knowing that we would have fewer dollars to spend than if I continued working for somebody else." Some day they will leave to their heirs a company that is worth several millions. As small producers commonly say. "We live fairly poor, but we die fairly rich.

# **Bug-Eyed over** Flea Markets

Buvers have the itch: dealers get some scratch

As many as 15,000 bargain hunters cram the market's six acres each weekend, rummaging through wares displayed at 400 stalls. haggling with sellers and walking away with treasures-and junk-of every description. Fuzzy stuffed animals and live parrots. Miniature Japanese pagodas and bonsai trees. Madonna and child statuettes. Sea shells and natural sponges. "This." exults Mary Wright, is the last bastion of free enterprise. My

God, what a business it is! She is praising the enterprise that she and her husband run in Houston; a flea market, that most elementary form of commerce. All across the U.S., inflationweary Americans searching for lowerpriced goods are making flea markets a jumping business. Thousands are operating in non-luxe hotels and discount stores. at race tracks and drive-in theaters. Some are in cities, patterned after the grandfather of flea markets, the Marché aux Puces in Paris, and the ancient bazaars of Cairo. Baghdad and Tehran. Many. many more are sprouting on what were once dusty, barren plots along highways a few miles from city limits.

The biggest profits in flea markets are carned not by sellers but by the organizers who collect stall rentals and often modest gate entrance fees.

Sometimes the idea is just to salvage a going concern. Notes Bill Buchholz. who runs flea markets billed as "swap meets" at his Miami drive-in theater "The quality of the movies is so poor and the cost of getting them so high. I'd go right out of business without the swap meets." Quite a few flea markets are still fleabags, but the institution has taken on enough respectability that the U.S. Economic Development Administration has funded Washington, D.C.'s first permanent flea market.

Though growing larger than ever flea markets still allow anyone with an eye to sharp trading to go into business almost instantly. All a would-be proprietor has to do is rent a modest stall or table, for \$4 to \$20 a day. Then the fun begins: people display an incredible array of items pulled from closets, attics, gardens, in-laws and. only occasionally, outlaws. With an eye for hot merchandise, police sometimes patrol the bigger markets, but the difficulty of making positive identifications means that there is often little they can do to knock down any fences.

The stalls typically are filled with a smorgasbord designed to appeal to every taste, from used goods to discounted, discontinued lines of new merchandise. Aficionados claim that the larger markets



At Houston's Common Market, a weekend shopper picks over the goods



Bargain hunting is big business for Miami's Tropicaire Swap Fair



An instant entrepreneur displays his wares at San Jose, Calif.

offer one of everything ever made and two of everything Woolworth ever sold. There are Army uniforms, ladies' spats, metal detectors. Roosevelt buttons, Wallace buttons, Nixon buttons, toilet seats, hubcaps, ski boots, gum ball machines, telephones, dried fruit, perfume, crutches, jump ropes and Christian Dior shirts. A sample of the prices and pitches

and the property of the proper

Flea markets thrive on nostalgia. Explains Suan Pressly, a New York City nurse and a frequent visitor to New Jones "You can go there and touch something from your childhood." When Shire West Temple rulde moviedom in the '30s small blue drinking glasses bearing her pixie face were packed in countless Wheaties boxes. The glasses now feeth 59 each at MacSonny's fear market in 'North Read fersesses shoes, and, for collectors. Cocadresses, shoes, and, for collectors. Cocacles signs, beer cans and come books. Says Bill McCrenice, an antique-store owner and a frequent seller at Atlanta's



Easy credit at Englishtown, N.J.

Fun for all, and owners make the profits.

"I-85" drive-in market: "I bring things

that aren't good enough for the store:

A flea market's weekend often starts just after midnight—at 1 a.m. or 2 a.m. started; when sellers begin to set out their wares. As early as 4 a.m., professional buyers start to appear. Many are dealers looking for bargains that they will resell art sharply marked-up prices. By early morning the casual crowds start swarms in; in, and then the hazaling begins to the start warms are ming in; and then the hazaling begins to the start warms are ming in; and then the hazaling begins to the start warms are ming in; and then the hazaling begins to the start warms are ming in; and then the hazaling begins to the start warms are ming the start warms are started to the start warms are started to the st

A carnival air brightens California's San Jose market, one of the biggest in the U.S., with its 130 acres attracting 2.5 million visitors annually. Crowds publing shopping cars stroil through the grounds, consuming heroic quantities of junk food and observing the outlandsh garb that customers wear as part of the ritual Henry Cortez, a robust Mexican American. See Deuglas around in a wooden wagen. This is my flea amarket hat. "say Cortez, who has been going to the San Jose market almost every weekend since 1900." And this is my flea-market wagen. I come to visit people."

M ost sellers appear to do well, though a few earn barely enough to cover rental charges. Mrs. Priscilla Bandzin of Boston routinely sells at one market what she earlier bought at another; last New Year's Day she cleared \$165. Jon Watson supplements his income as an assistant professor at the University of Houston by hawking plants from his van and earns \$300 to \$600 a weekend. Some dealers have become increasingly professional. jumping from markets in the Northeast in spring and summer to those in the South in winter. At the San Jose market, the more enterprising sell as much as \$70,000 annually Big money, however, is not the goal

Big money, however, is not the goal of most marketeers. Like the Hollywood stars—Lucille Ball. Barbra Streisand. Suranne Somers and Redd Foxx—who are chauffeured to the flea market at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, they are having fun, wheeling and dealing away an afternoon.



COVER STORY

# The First Test-Tube Baby

# Birth watch in Britain for an infant conceived in the laboratory

The Director continued with some account of the technique for preserving the excessed owny after and actively developing passed on to a consideration of optimum temperature, aslitute, viscosity—actually showed them—how the eggs—were imspected for abnormalities, counted and transferred to a protous receptacle; how—this receptuale was immersed in a warm bouillion containing free-symming spermaticoso

Aldous Huxley. Brave New World (1932)

on milions of people in Britain and elsewhere around the world last week, it seemed as if Husley's prophetic vision had become reality. Banner headlines in Britain sixin had become reality. Banner headlines in Britain elsevation newcoasts under the properties of the STATION. On the Control of the STATION of the Control of the STATION of the STATION of the Control of the STATION of the STATION

ceived in a test tute. The center of all the furor was a four-story red brick building in the old testile mill soon of Oidham in the northwest residence of the following the section of Oidham and District General Grown of the materialy section of Oidham and District General Gen

their hearts' desire—in a most spectacular manner. Early in August, she is due to give birth by natural means to a child that her doctors say was conceived not in her body but in vitro (in glass) in a medical laboratory.

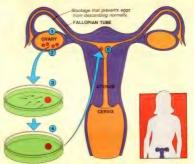
In anticipation of that scientifically assisted bissed event, normally quiet Oldham (np. 2.75000) last week was in a state of seege From as far off as Japan, severes of reporters and camerame had converged on the town to be on hand off or the birth near the properties of the convergence of the town to be on hand off or the birth labaloo was endangering bus on the deductors that the hultimage of the convergence of the convergence of the properties. They were seeking any morsel of news. Perhaps a brief word with one of the description of the depth of the Brown experiment Patrick Supplex, who came and went duily in his white Mercedes, dodging in and out of the hospitals side does to a conform the properties of the hospitals side does to a conform the properties of a chair with of Lesley Brown pecking from behind her carefully curtained window.

But pickings were slim the Browns had made a deal, extrained at \$55.000, that allowed only reporters from the London Daulis Mail to have access to the Brown family. Doctors and hospital personnel were also exaspertangly inaccessible Frustration ran high, and after a bomb threat was called in to porter or photographer who, as a last resort, Planned to intercept Lealey Brown as she was being executed from the building 65th was indeed moved. But only to a different part of the brown of the properties of the properties who had been also be to the properties of the properties who had been also also the properties who beaterds, don't you care about the busy's Blown's room. "You beaterds, don't you care about the busy's Blown's room."

In fact, journalists as well as the public cared all too much. As the Oldham Evening Chronicle commented: "It was not un-

## CONCEPTION IN A GLASS

- 1 The woman is treated with hormones to stimulate naturation of eggs in the ovary
- To locate the ovary, an optical system, called a aparoscope, is inserted through an incision in the abdominal wall. Under direct vision, a needle is then inserted into the ovary to draw out the eggs.
- (1) An egg is placed in a dish containing blood serum and nutrients, to which sperm is added for tertilization
- Once an egg is fertilized by one of the many spermatozoa, it is then transferred to another dish of blood serum and sustaining nutrients. For the next three to six days, the fertilized egg divides, creating a cluster of cells called a blastocyst.
- After the woman receives further hormone treatment to prepare the uterine lining, the blastocyst is placed in the uterus, where it attaches to the wall and normal embryo development proceeds—as it would from a natural conception.



natural that the world's press should scramble for information. People want to know, and have a right to be curious about such things." Indeed, long before anyone heard of Huxley or even Mary Shelley's Frankenstein monster, people were fascinated and frightened by the prospects of creating life outside the womb. A 16th century rabbi in Prague was thought by later generations to have been endowed with mystical powers that enabled him to create a golem, or artificial man, at will. Perhaps the most famous of these legends is that of Faust and Homun-

culus, the little manlike creature that was created in a vial Yet for all the breathlessness and hyperbole in the British

press-"We could get baby farms, massproduced kids. 1984 six years early!" exclaimed London Daily Express Editor Derek Jameson-the Brown venture fell far short of ushering in a Brave New World. Like countless other women with fertility problems. Lesley Brown suffered from a fallopian tube disorder. In their almost fanatic insistence on secrecy, her doctors declined to say whether the tubes were missing or merely blocked. Whatever the trouble, it was apparently serious enough to prevent her from becoming pregnant.

released by a woman's ovary during ovu-

lation is fertilized as it passes through the fallopian tube, successfully penetrated by just a single sperm that has traveled through the uterus. After the fertilized egg undergoes a number of cell divisions, the tiny clump of cells enters the uterus, where it burrows into the wall and develops for nine months or so until birth

To bypass Lesley Brown's fallopian tubes. Oldham Hospital's Steptoe. 65. a highly respected gynecologist, and his colleague, Cambridge University Physiologist Robert Edwards, 52. undertook a remarkable procedure they have been experimenting with for a decade. They removed a ripe egg from Mrs. Brown's ovary, placed it in a laboratory dish and added sperm from her husband. After incubating the ovum as it began to di-

vide, they finally placed the developing embryo in the uterus where it became implanted and continued to grow into a fetus in what seemed to be an entirely normal way

For Steptoe and Edwards, the Browns' baby, apparently normal and so near birth, was a long-sought goal: in scores of previous transfers of externally fertilized eggs, a successful, full-term pregnancy had never been achieved. To many other doctors, including rival researchers, the feat was a stunning achievement. If the baby is born normal and healthy, they pointed out, it will give new hope to women who have been unable to conceive because of tubal difficulties. In the U.S. alone, as many as 10% of all

married women who want to bear children cannot. Possibly a third of these are infertile because of blocked tubes that cannot be surgically repaired.

or many scientists, there were even more sweeping ramifications. They noted that in-vitro fertilization techniques may give researchers an important new laboratory tool for devising ways of coping with genetic diseases. testing new methods of contraception and. perhaps most important of all, studying close up one of nature's most awesome and still baffling processes: the first stirrings of life. Said one leading specialist on reproductive physiology.

Dr. Carl Pauerstein of the University of Texas, of the British work: "It has the potential for adding greatly to the knowledge of the reproductive biology of our species

Other researchers were far more skeptical of going beyond in-vitro fertilization to the actual implantation of the developing embryo in the uterus. "The potential for misadventure is unlimited," said Dr. John Marshall, head of obstetrics and gynecology at Los Angeles County's Harbor General Hospital How sure could anyone be that the Browns' baby will not be deformed, he asked "What if we got an otherwise perfectly formed individual that was a cyclops? Who is responsible? The parents? The doctor? Is the government obligated to take care of it?"



nancy occurs when an ovum, or egg cell. Amid sterile glass and laboratory gadgetry

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#### Medicine







From left to right: Tadpole-shaped sperm penetrating egg; closeup of invading sperm; sperm that has passed through egg membrane Some of the scientists were awed, still others were alarmed, and a few were downright skeptical

the work of Steptoe and Edwards was conducted. The University of Pennsylvania's Dr. Luigi Mastroianni. who has himself fertilized eggs in vitro but never attempted to implant them. points out that the British researchers had not provided any details about the condition of Mrs. Brown's fallopian tubes. "If they are completely absent," said Mastroianni, "you must accept the fact that the egg was fertilized in vitro. But if they are just damaged, there's always the possibility that the egg may actually have been fertilized in vivo lin the bodyl-that the tubes may have functioned again." Sir John Stallworthy, president of the British Medical Association's board of science, agreed that the sensational claim "requires irrefutable proof."

**Gynecologist Steptoe** 

Some thoughtful observers saw the work as still another ominous step toward further control and manipulation of basic life processes-comparable perhaps to the recently acquired ability of molecular biologists to rearrange and recombine genes of different creatures and even to create new life forms. These critics are not really worried about the imminence of Huxley-style baby hatcheries that produce everything from superbrainy "Alphas" to dronelike "Epsilons." After all, says one researcher, "test-tube babies are not going to be popping out like peanuts." Rather the concern centers on the far-ranging social, eth-

ical and legal repercussions. In the words of Nobel Laureate James Watson, there is the potential for "all sorts of bad scenarios." What, for instance, could prevent a scientist from taking a fertilized cgg from one woman, who perhaps did not want to carry her own baby, and implanting it in the womb of a surrogate. Who then would be the child's legal mother? Or, in the words of an old joke. "Which one gets the Mother's Day card?"

By a striking coincidence. the first legal reverberations from test-tube fertilization were being felt last week. In U.S. district court in New York. a iury of four women and two men was hearing testimony in an unusual \$1.5 million damage suit against Manhattan's Columbia-Presbyterian Medical Center and its chief of obstetrics and gynecology. Dr. Raymond Vande Wiele. The action was brought by a Fort Lauderdale. Fla., dentist. Dr. John Del Zio. 59, and his wife Doris. 34. Despite several operations. Mrs. Del Zio had apparently been unable to become

There was also widespread criticism of the secrecy in which | lems. In 1972, she agreed to let Dr. Landrum Shettles place in her womb an egg said to have been fertilized externally by her husband's sperm. But upon learning of the experiment in his department. Vande Wiele destroyed the specimen, contending that the procedure was risky, that Shettles lacked the skills to undertake it and that it had not been approved by the hospital's committee on human experimentation

> n emotional, sobbing testimony, Mrs. Del Zio charged that Vande Wiele's action robbed her of a chance to have a child by her current husband (she had one child in a previous marriage before the tubal problems), damaged her both physically and psychologically, upset her sex life and jeopardized her marriage. The defense, for its part, questions whether the flamboyant Shettles, who has since left the hospital, ever managed to fertilize Mrs. Del Zio's egg and whether his other claims of in-vitro fertilization were valid Scornfully, a defense lawyer said Shettles' work was as different from the achievement of Steptoe and Edwards as "a Model T Ford is from a Porsche

> The courtroom histrionics tended to obscure the real question in the case. Was Vande Wiele's action, which he freely admits. medically and legally justifiable, and did Mrs. Del Zio's emotional and physical problems stem from any trauma she might have suffered from learning of the destruction of her ovum? Should the jury find for Mrs. Del Zio. doctors involved in such experiments will have to weigh carefully their legal liabilities before considering these new procedures

Perhaps because of past difficulties with their own research. as well as the controversies it has stirred. Steptoc and Edwards remained quiet about their successful implanting through most of Lesley Brown's pregnancy. Even though fertility experts round the globe were generally aware of their research, no announcement was forthcoming from the British doctors until April, when a reporter closing in on the story got them to admit that the birth of a test-tube baby was at hand. Even so. Steptoe and Edwards were reluctant to give any details: they even withheld the patient's name for fear that the mother might not be able to withstand the pressure of all the public prying

Yet, as journalists pursued the story, information slowly dribbled out Some of it came directly from the family through the Daily Mail under the syndication deal, but other facts were unearthed by reporters in Oldham, some of whom were not above using £20 notes to loosen the lips of anyone even vaguely in the know

Thus the world learned, in prose and tone that often seemed straight from a Monty Python satiric sketch, that Lesley Brown is a pretty woman of 5 ft. 5 in., who wears her brownish hair in a page-boy



#### Medicine

cut In her turquoise-blue hospital room, she often lounges in an easy chair, wearing a brown-and-white bell-sleeved housecoat. She spends much of her time making telephone calls, doing puzzles, knitting, nibbling on mints and eating ordinary hospital food ia typical lunch: steak and kidney pie with mashed potatoes, followed by fruit tart). Occasionally, added the Evening Chronicle, she has become weepy and depressed, and was briefly worried, until reassured by other expectant mothers, about the seemingly small size of the baby in relation to the weeks of pregnancy. Steptoe apparently tried to get her to stop smoking, but she still sneaks an occasional cigarette. Presumably, she knows of all the concern about her and her baby because she has a television and a radio in her Plaintiff Doris Del Zio room. I rom her window, she can see the hospital's children's unit with its gaily colored swings, whirling merry-go-rounds and playful youngsters. Reported a nurse "She just feels like any other mother-to-be: tired, fed up

and fat Before the Browns became international celebrities, they lived quietly in a white row house in Easton, a neighborhood in Bristol, about 150 miles from Oldham. "Ever such a nice couple." say neighbors. John Brown apparently likes few things better than to tinker I with his automobile and, even before the current furor, kept largely to himself. Says a friend "He is a very polite bloke I don't think he socializes with a lot of people." Still, the Browns, who live with John's 17-year-old daughter by a previous marriage, are hardly re- Experimenter Landrum Shettles cluses. Before Lesley Brown was sequestered in the hospital for round-the-clock monitoring. she talked about babies with neighbors, but gave no hint of her own extraordinary pregnancy Recalls one surprised neighbor. never knew there was anything unusual."

any scientists shared that surprise. For years they have talked about fertilizing the human egg in a test tube. But with every claim of success has come the inevitable countercurrent of doubt. Indeed as early as the 1940s, the eminent Boston gynecologist Dr. John Rock, a pioneer in development of the birth control pill, reported that he and colleagues had managed to fertilize an egg m vitro. But other scientists believe that the few cell divisions observed by Defe Rock were nothing more than "parthenogenic Reverberations in the U.S. cleavage" (division of the egg without the in-

volvement of a sperm), probably induced by incidental stimulation of the ovum Scientists were similarly skentical of claims by Shettles in the 1950s that he had brought an externally fertilized human egg into the sixth day of cell division, and by an Italian scientist. Daniele Petrucci, who a few years later announced that he had kept alive an embryo in a test tube for 29 days. The embryo was destroyed. Petrucci said, because it was growing "monstrous." He dropped the work entirely after it was condemned by the Vatican

Not until the mid-1960s did researchers learn how to fertilize mammalian eggs in vitro on a regular basis. The groundwork was laid by M.C. Chang of the Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology in Shrewsbury, Mass., and C.R. Austin of Cambridge University, who had solved the problem of invitro capacitation of rabbit sperm, a process that enabled sperm to penetrate the egg in the laboratory. Until then, the sperm were notably ineffectual in that role. But these early successes







involved creatures no higher than rabbits. hamsters and mice

Finally, in 1969. Steptoe and Edwards announced that they had done the same thing with human eggs. The report caused a worldwide sensation and drew considerable fire, particularly from conservative churchmen. Trying to allay fears that he was actually attempting to create babies outside the womb. Steptoe insisted that his true goal was quite different. Said he: "All that I am interested in is how to help women who are denied a baby because their tubes are incapable of doing their small part

In 1974, another English scientist. Dr. Douglas Bevis, casually dropped an even bigger bombshell. Not only had human eggs been fertilized in the test tube, said Bevis, but they en who subsequently gave birth. It was widely suspected that he was talking about his own work. When he proved unwilling or unable to document his claims. Bevis was so roundly denounced that he soon vowed to give up all such research. To this day, no one really knows whether Bevis was making phony claims or was a victim of the furious scientific competition between rival fertility researchers In any case, the Bevis case sharply increased public concern and brought vociferous right-tolife advocates into the fray They equated the fertilization experiments-and the frequent destruction of apparently live embryos in the lab-with outright abortions of far more developed embryos and fetuses in women

The clamor had its effect Researchers like Steptoe and Edwards made fewer and fewer public reports on their work. In the U.S., almost all research with human eggs came to an abrupt halt; under a 1975 federal order. the Department of Health. Education and Welfare was barred from funding any in-vitro fertilization experiments unless they were first approved by a national ethics advisory board appointed by the HIW Secretary Perhaps because it involved such a touchy subject, the panel was not formed until January of this year. One of its first orders of business to weigh the long-pending application from a Vanderbilt University fertility researcher. Dr Pierre Soupart. His objective: to resume tests. suspended in 1975, that are designed to show if there is any increased risk of chromosomal abnormalities when human eggs are fertilized in the test tube rather than in the body Commenting on the delays forced upon American

researchers by what is, in effect, an unofficial federal moratorium, U.C.L.A. Obstetrician Jaroslav Marik bitterly notes that "if all the pulls and pressures had not been applied, there might be an American woman now about to deliver" a test-tube haby

Perhaps so, but the skills and know-how of the Steptoe-Edwards team are almost universally acclaimed even if its inclination toward secrecy is not Silver-haired and elegant. Stentoe is a pioneer in the use of laparoscopy, a technique for exploring the abdomen and observing the reproductive tract by means of a long, thin telescope equipped with a fiber optics light. He is also an impeccable dresser, enjoys watching cricket and is a fine organist. In the words of a colleague, he is "a man of character and determination who if someone is speaking nonsense is perfectly willing to say so." His partner Edwards, the father of five daughters, is no less accomplished in his own field the physiology of fertilization, and just as dedicated During early experiments at Cambridge, he often returned to the phys-

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SMALLER FEELS BIGGER IN AN ASPEN.



# "Ilie Nastase introduced us to white rum and tonic."

"One day when I was photographing a antach for a tennis magazine, Ilie Nastase came over to say hello. He displayed his usual charm—and then proceeded to tell me how much he hated one of my pictures of him in a recent issue.

That right, in a spirit of atonement. lie took Bob and me out to a Japanese restaurant. Before dinner, he ordered Puerto Rican white rum and tonic, a drink we had never tried before. We were intrigued, so we ordered the same.

When Ilie is right, he's right. White rum and tonic were made for each other.

A Rumanian in a Japanese restaurant introducing two Americans to Puerto Rican white rum.

That's how we got on to a good thing."

#### Convert yourself.

Instead of automatically ordering amount owns, my white true and Cansada Drs. Forus, moses time Cansada Drs. Forus, moses time Cansada Drs. Selve classes summer tenns. And Puetro Ream Rum makes a smoother drink than gin or wellar. Rot a very good reasons. Unlike gin or wolka white train trom Paterts Race search for it leave a full year before it bested. And when it comes for smoothiness, againg is the name of the game.



# PUERTO RICAN RUMS

Aged for smoothness and taste.

# Medicine

iology department at night, scaled a wall, and slipped into his lab to see if fertilized eggs were still alive.

Those qualities are surely as essential in this difficult field as are flasks, hormones and microscopes. Though man has wondered about human reproduction since the dawn of history, it remains, in many respects, as mysterious—some would even say as mystical—as ever, At brith, the infant human female is endowed with as many as a million age cells; many more than she will even need during her 30 or so child-bearing years. Starting at puberty, eggs are released, usually one at a time, about mid-valued to the starting of the starting that the starting

ters the nearby fallopian tube. If coitus has taken place, the egg will shortly run into a swarm of tailed sporm that have managed. like salmon battling upstream, to fight their way into this passageway. In a dramatic headlong plunge, a single sporm will penetrate the waiting owner's outer layer, its 23 chromosomes, joining the eggs 23. That produces the full complement of 46 chromosomes, which contain all the genetic instructions necessary to produce a complete human being.

The fertilized egg continues its journey, dividing as it moves through the tube. Finally, after several days, it will have become a blastocyst, a hollow, ball-shaped cluster of fewer than 100 cells. By now, it will have reached the uterus. There the blastocyst embeds itself in the uterine wall, where it begins frawing nourishment from the mother and starts the miracle of differentiation: the rapid transformation of cells into tissue that

# A Test-Tube Baby Is Not a Clone

N ews of the impending birth of a baby conceived in a test tube caused scant surprise-or suspicion-among scientists and doctors. That was a far cry from their reaction last March, when they challenged as a "fraud" and a "hoax" a book called In His Image that claimed a baby boy had been cloned from a 67year-old millionaire. The difference was that the test-tube fertilization had been performed by two respected scientists whose accomplishments and progress had been described in many published papers. But Image did not identify the clone or the cloner, and offered no evidence that the state of the art had advanced to the point at which mice, let alone human beings, could be cloned. While many of the technical problems involved in the test-tube conception of a human are being resolved, the cloning of Homo sapiens is still far beyond the current capability of medical science

Unlike in vitro fertilization, which lets nature take its course (sperm from the father and an egg from the mother unite, albeit in a test tube), cloning is asexual, single-parent reproduction. Instead of being a mixture of genes from two parents, the clone (from the Greek word klon, meaning twig or slip) is a genetic copy of its single parents.

Cloning is based on a remarkable fact. Virtually every cell in an organism -be the life form a human being, a maple tree or a bacterium-carries all the genetic information needed to create the whole organism. The reason that a liver cell is different from, say, a skin cell is that different genes in each cell seem to be "turned on." In the language of biologists, the cells are differentiated. U.S. Biologists Robert W. Briggs and Thomas J. King confirmed this principle and pioneered the basic technique of animal cloning in the early 1950s. They removed the nuclei of unfertilized egg cells from female frogs. These nuclei were then replaced with nuclei taken from the cells of developing frog embryos, which at this early stage were merely clumps of cells that had not yet differentiated into specific organs. Some of the frog eggs, with their newly implanted nuclei, acted as if they had been fertilized, they started to divide and went on to develop into induced.

In the early 1960s, British Biologist John B. Gurdon took the technique a step further by replacing the nuclei of unfertilized eggs with the nuclei of cells that had differentiated into intestinal cells of young tadpoles. Some of the resulting cloned tadpoles matured into adult frogs. There have since been reports of successful cloning with nuclei from adult frog cells, but researchers have found that the best results are obtained by using the nuclei from cells of frogs in the early stages of embryonic development. The nuclei of adult animal cells are generally considered poor cloning material, possibly because many of the genes have been irreversibly shut off.

The Gurdon experiments still represent the high-water mark of traditional cloning technique. Researchers find that cloning mammals is a much more complicated affair. For one thing, mammaian eggs are one-tenht to one-twentieth the size of frog eggs and thus difficult to manipulate. And while tadpoles grow manipulate. And while tadpoles grow in a laboratory tanki, mammalian embryos must develop in a womb

Though cloning mammals by the classic method as a long way off, scientists are moving closer to cloning mice by an indirect route. In this technique, devised by an let be clone in the cloning mice which was a closer to the clone the clone that clone the clone that clone the clone the clone that clone t

a full complement of genes. Then the cell itself divides, and the resulting embryo is placed in the uterus of a female mouse to develop. Using this technique, Biologist Peter C. Hoppe of Jackson Laboratory in Bar Harbor, Me., and Swiss Microsurgeon Kart I limensee have produce seven mice, all females, Ushales cannot make the control of the control o

Still, the mice are not clones. They each contain not a full set but two identical half sets of one parent's genes. But if the process is repeated with one of these mice, the new daughters would be clones of each other and the mother.

T his technique has enormous implica-tions for both laboratory research and animal husbandry. A particular strain of mouse needed for experiments could be duplicated in great numbers, as could prize dairy cows, horses, sheep and pigs. But cloning human beings by the same procedure is another story. Homo sapiens is a mongrel breed. Unlike domesticated or laboratory animals, man has not had harmful and even lethal genes bred out of him. These genes remain in humans, many as recessives. suppressed by dominant normal genes. If humans could be cloned by Markert's method, these recessive genes could come to the fore and express themselves, causing deformities and genetic illnesses, even death.

Thus while human cloning makes good cockula-party-chatter, it is not only very far off in the future, but also seems as the ethical and social problems. Says Nobel Laureate James Watson, co-discoverer of DNA's double-heis varieture. "What's to be gained?" A carbon copy of the coverer of DNA's double-heis varieture. "What's to be gained?" A carbon copy of the coverer of DNA's would some the surface of the covered of DNA's would be suffered to the covered of the covere

# Medicine

soon becomes recognizable as heart, brain, muscle, kidneys and all the other components of a living, self-sufficient being.

Yet the eggs's journey is precazious. Unless the proper homeons are present in appropriate concentrations, setting the stage for ovulation and fertilization, this intrincate chain of events will not be inflanted. The eggs will not burst from the ovary, the interest of the end of the en

n Lesley Brown's case, the difficulties were not hormonal but tubal. In recent years surgeons have managed to repair many tubes with precise microsurgery. But for Mrs. Brown that did not appear possible. The door to pregnancy seemed to be tightly shut until she was referred to Steptoe, who with Edwards had probably but made more attempts than any oth-

er researchers to get around such blockages by in-vitro fertilization and implanting

techniques. Yet despite the British team's long experience, the procedure had never resulted in a live birth. To bring it off successfully requires scientific ingenuity, surgical dexterity and, some might say, a lot of plain luck. The doctor must remove the egg at the exact moment in the monthly cycle when it has reached maturity. To ensure the success of that crucial initial step. Steptoe and Edwards follow a standard procedure for treating infertility: they administer fertility hormones, like those that have been responsible for the rash of multiple births in recent years. That encourages the ripening of several eggs at one time. To get at the eggs. Steptoe turns

an incision is made near the navel. Inert gases are pumped into the abdominal cavity to expand it and separate the organs, and the laparoscope is inserted to seek out appropriate eggs, which are then sucked into a small hollow needle.

Unless the extracted eggs and the husband's sperm—usually obtained by masturbation—are kept at the right temperature and pressure. Free of contamination and in an appropriate culture medium (salls, autrients and sometimes blood serum). fertilization will not occur. Explains the University of Pennsylvania's Benjamin G. Brackett: "You don't want the eggs to suspect they are out of the body."

Equally important, the sperm must be primed for fertilization or, in the technical term, capacitated. This means that the chemical intibitors preventing the sperm from penetrating the eggent of the sperm. The sperm from the surface of the sperm. How this trick is accomplished in the body remains a puzzled. How this trick is accomplished in the body remains a puzzled some scientists think that the woman's secretions of the job. But in the lab, experimenters usually are able to prime the sperm simply by gently batting them in a salts solution. There is also the critical matter of timing neither eggs not sperm have unlimited lighteimes, nor does the uterus remain receptive

for long. So egg and sperm should be quickly brought together. Even after fertilization, doctors have no assurance that the egg will divide, again the culture medium must be carefully controlled. Some researchers think that the highest rate of success could be achieved if the content of the solution were continually altered as the cells go through stages of division. Finally, when the egg becomes a blastocyst or shortly before, it is ready for implanting. One way this can be done its by picking up the egg, which is still no bigger than the dot at the end of this sentence of the control of the solution of the control of the cont

Since the beginning of their partnership more than a decole ago. Stepte and Edwards are believed to have attempted invitro fertilization and implantation in hundreds of women. In perhaps half of these cases, eggs were fertilized but successful implantations have been rarer. Shortly before Mrs. Brown was treated last fall, a medical publication quoted Steptoe as saying that of 60 attempted implants, only three showed signs of lasting—one for inne weeks, the others for two. Why the difficulty?

at least three reasons for failure 1) difficulties in transferring the tiny egg from the culture chamber into the uterus. 2) undetected chromosomal abnormalities that doom the egg before it has a chance to implant itself, and 3) interference in the acceptance of the egg by the very hormones that were used to encourage ovulation.

Vanderbilt's Soupart gives

According to the British newspapers, all these critical steps in the Brown case —removal of the eggs, fertilization in the laboratory and implantation—took place in a small turn-of-the-century institution called Dr. Kershaw's Cottage Hospital, amid green fields about a mile from the hospital where Mrs. Brown awaits the birth. Steptoc has done much of his fertilization work there, using foundations and the step of the control of the step of the control of the step of the

ing operating theater, the ingreduction of the control of the control of the theater, the tronically. Steptoe is able to pursue his expensive fertility work in part because of his earnings from legal abortions. He soon hopes to move to larger facilities and dreams of eventually building a center for reproductive studies.

From the very start, the efforts to give Lesley Brown a child nt extremely well. As the pregnancy progressed, Steptoe and Edwards apparently even determined its sex from chromosomal examination. Lesley, however, is said to have insisted on not being told. She explained: "I've been waiting too long for this to be denied the surprise of learning whether the baby is a boy or girl at birth." Late in her pregnancy. Mrs. Brown was sent to the spacious and well-equipped maternity wing at Oldham. There she presumably underwent all the most advanced testing: ultrasonic scanning to check the position, size and bodily shape of the fetus as it developed: monitoring of hormone levels and fetal heartbeat; and perhaps withdrawal of amniotic fluid from the womb to determine whether the child had Down's syndrome (mongolism), the congenital malformation called spina bifida or any number of other genetic defects. Had the doctors detected any serious problems. Lesley Brown could have quickly received an



to laparoscopy. While the Creating Homunculus, test-tube man, in Goethe's version of the Faust legend woman is under anesthesia. Who is responsible? Parents? Doctor? Is government obligated?





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IT'S MORE FUN TO TAKE THE BUS. THE 1978 VW CAMPMOBILE BUS.

#### Medicine

abortion Observed Dr. Stuart J. Steele of London's Middlesex Hospital Medical School: "Mrs. Brown would have had all the very close medical supervision that one would expect in a particularly precious pregnancy."

How that precious pregnancy turns out will shortly be known; one estimated due date is Aug. 4, but a swing of two weeks on either side is perfectly normal. Steptog and Edwards, for their part, must surely feel highly confident, otherwise these experienced researchers would never have allowed the pregnanery togsos far "yet on the eve of what may well be the most audied birth in perhaps 2,000 years, there are also still many unanswered questions. For the Brown family, it is whether their resttube child is healthy and can ever hope to have anything resembling an ormal life. For the doctors, it is whether they have pushed medicine to a new frontier or set it dramatically back by creating a medical disasser. For the world at large, it is whether doctors should be free to continue such daring exploits or whethrenew restraints should be posted to keep them from postching on nature's domain. There is a very large gathering in the waiting room for Baby Brown.

#### To Fool (or Not) with Mother Nature

he issue is how far we play God. how far we are going to treat mankind as we would animal husbandry." So says Leo Abse, a British M.P. who has long felt that policymakers have not dealt seriously enough with the issues raised by developments like the test-tube baby, and plans to lead a parliamentary debate on the matter this week. But for philosophers and theologians, as well as scientists, the Oldham experiment sharpens some longstanding moral and religious questions. Is in-vitro fertilization to be applauded as a humanizing technique, allowing some infertile couples the joy of procreation? Or is it dehumanizing, a step that is to be condemned because it puts the moment of creation outside the body into a mechanical environment?

To some thinkers, the Oldham experiment poses no problems Says Rabbi Seymour Siegel, professor of ethies at Manhattan's Jewish Theological Seminary: "The Browns were trying to obey the commandment to have children. When nature does not permit conception, it is destrable to try to cutuiti nature. The Taimud teaches that God desires man's cooperation."

For many others, in-vitro fertilization is fraught with moral dangers. British Geneticist Robert J. Berry, a consultant to a board set up by the Church of England to consider issues like the ones raised by the Brown baby, accepts the procedure for couples who want a child but he is still troubled "We're on a slippery slope," he warns "Western society is built around the family once you divorce sex from procreation, what happens to the family?"

For the Roman Catholic Church, which first came out against in-vitro fertilization in the 1950s, the Oldham experiment promised yet another round in Rome's long fight against advances in procreation and birth control. Although the Vatican has yet to take official notice of the test-tube pregnancy, a top-official quickly reiterated the church's position that "interference with nature is not acceptable" in any form. For that reason the Papacy has condemned artificial insemination, even with the husband as donor. The church is also opposed to the use of contraceptive devices for the same reason, the Brown's motive is the opposite—to have a child. But that may not matter. Says the Rev. William B. Smith. a spokesman for the Archdiocese of New York' "It's the contraception argument backward. Pius XII talked about not wanting to change the home into a laboratory. I call it switching the marital bed into a chemcertainties involved: the parents' right to have children is never so absolute as to justify such "induced risk" to the child. Ramsey-sees a further risk in Britain's birth watch: possible stigma or damage to the Brown child's self-image because of all the notoriety.

The ethical questions raised by scientific advances in procreation can only become more urgent as new techniques are explored and developed. Robert Edwards. Steptoe's partner in the Oldham experiment, has advocated test-tube selection of the offspring's sex, though only to reduce such sex-linked diseases as here.



They re playing mothers and Jathers!

istry set." Catholics and other Christians who believe that life begins at conception are also troubled by the fact that in test-tube fertilization, many fertilized

Some skepties doubt that enough embryo transplants have been done on primates and other mammals to justify trials on man and also wonder if the patients know enough about the risks to give "informed consent." Protestant Theologian Paul Ramsey insists that the rights of the child-to-be should be considered. He 'argues' that test-tube procreation is "immoral" because of the un-

mophilia. Politician Abse fears that "we are moving to a time when an embryo purchaser could select in advance the color of the baby's eyes and its probable IQ."

As for Lesley Brown, she has less diffificulty reconciling herself to such ansieties: I realize that this is a scientific miracle." she tool the Douly Maul. "But in a way, science has made us turn to God. We are not religious people. But when we discovered that all was, working well and I was pregnant, we just had to pray to God to give our thanks. It seemed right and natural."



#### Frenzy in the British Press

The fast public bint of the impending birth of a British test-tuble abby came last spring not from London's Fleet Street but from Manhatums South Street, in the New York Post. After getting at 10th that British in Sr. Petrick Lings at 10th that British in Sr. Petrick Post. After getting at 10th that British in Sr. Petrick Post. About the work of the Street Street

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The great press circus was on The Oldham Mers was out with a major story the next day. London's Duily Mutis to Sully Mutis said to have offered \$190 to an Oldham reporter for the parents names, and journalists began pouring into town from around the world. At least one posed as a friend of a patient to gain admittance to the hospital. Three Papanese photographers began shooting pictures of every pregnant woman in sight. Said a hospital stylescent and the said of the property of the propert

On the advice of Steptoe, the still anonymous Lesley and John Brown then hired an attorney to solicit bids for their story, insisting that bidders keep the details—including the parents' identity quiet until the baby was born. A number of British and American publications submitted bids, among them the Enquiree and a representative of Publisher Rupert Murdoch the New York. Past the Sizer and the London Stein. The three U.S. commercial television networks were asked to bid on North American broadcasting rights, but all declined. Finally, on July 9, the Browns accepted a high bid of nearly \$600,000 for world print rights from Associated Newspapers, owner of the Duty Mail, which quickly retailed North American print rights to the Enquiree.

All that did not sit well with the Mail's principal tabloid rival in Britain. the bidding at \$190,000. Express reportunidentified father was driving three hours each way to visit his wife. So they staked out the hospital parking lot. jotpectant fathers and traced them through "By subterfuge, even bribery!" speculated an angry civil servant. The Express his wife was pregnant. EXCLUSIVE, the Express screamed on July 11, BABY OF THE CENTURY The paper did not name the parents of the century, but most Editor Derek Jameson: "There were Murdoch, the Mail, the National Enquirer putting in bids of £300,000, and there we were-out getting the story by

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fast depreciating investment, the Mail quickly stationed a guard outside Lesley Brown's room and persuaded Oldham Hospital officials to refer all inquiries about the birth to the Mail. When a TIME correspondent called the paper to confirm Lesley's age, a spokesman obliged but added. "That's free. The new long will cost you?"

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# WHAT DOES IT TAKE TO BE A GENIUS?

According to an old adage, genius is 1% inspiration and 99% perspiration.

We'd like to update that a little.

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transmit it.

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#### **People**

"No frills" is still his motto. When Skytrain Boss Freddie Laker learned that he was on Queen Elizabeth's Birthday Honors list, he let out the word: Tve been called Freddie all my life, and I'm not changing it to something highfalutin like Frederick simply because I've been knighted." But at the ceremony last week at Buckingham Palace, he wore a proper top hat and morning suit and told photographers: "If you think I'm going to do anything daft today, you're wrong." Sir Freddie is especially



Laker says hats off to knighthood

pleased with his insignia and title because he has long attacked the government for its air policy. "The last thing you expect is to be told you're a good lad," he says. "You expect a kick in the arse."

Some guests thought it was a lot of bull. But others were delighted to dress formal-

ly for the invitation-only cattlehorse and art auction in House ton's Shamrock Hilton hotel. Among the sponsors: John Cannally, former Governor of Texas, who now practices law in Houston and breed livetees and by the disease livetees, art by the disease livetees, art by the disease of Froeter Remington was up for bids. At evening's end \$507.400 worth of paintings and livestock had been sold. Best price past (for an animal \$26,000 for Connally's bull Boxes.)

"There's just something

about me ... something that just doesn't work." The speaker was Author Truman Capote on WABC-TV's Stanley Siegel show. Before his TV appearance. Capote, 53, had taken booze and drugs. Rambling and incoherent, he spoke of eventually killing himself. The TV show followed a two-part article in the New York Times Magazine about Capote. Freelance Writer Anne Taylor Fleming wrote that the publication in 1975 of a gossipy chapter about his high society friends from Capote's long overdue novel. Answered Prayers, "quite simply changed his life." The result: instead of being famous. he became infamous and took heavily to drink and pills, "a longtime habit at last grown

No gaps or deleted expletives. The taped conversations between Japan's Emperor Hiro-



With a friendly sidekick, John and Nellie Connally attend an auction



Keller gets ready to play Lulu, the Don Juan of women

hite and 55 of the guests who were invited to his semiannual parties are a source of pride in the imperial palace. They are in fact being made into a record album. Among the voices of prominent Japanese on the LP is that of Sadaharu Oh, the home-run king who last fall topped Hank Aaron's 755 record. What exactly was the most difficult thing in setting your home-run record?" asked Hirobito "The overwhelming expectation on the part of my fans," replied Oh. "But you will continue to improve your record?" came the royal question. Yes, your majesty," promised Oh, who obeyed and is now up to home run No. 788.

On camera she has been a double agent in Marathon Man and a Palestinian terrorist in Black Sunday. Off the set. Swiss-born Marthe Keller is a homebody who has just finished furnishing a Manhattan apartment and plans to settle in New York City. "Some day would like to play a nice American girl," she says. First, she is off to Europe, where she has the title role in the movie Lulu, yet another adaptation of the Frank Wedekind play about a German seductress compelled to destroy the lives of her lovers. "Lulu is decadent and perverse. She is the Don

Juan of women, "asys Keller, After Luin, Keller will play a tamer type. Masha, a gentle-women in Chekhou's The After Luin, Chekhou's The After Masha is like the "asys Keger "She talks about Moseow, Moseow,

#### On the Record

Patricia Schroeder, Colorado Congresswoman, urging that a proposed dollar coin portray Suffragist Susan B Anthony Suffragist Susan B Anthony have real birds and real buffalo on our coins. it's time-we had a real woman."

Frank Robinson, manager of the Rochester Red Wings, after his team lost to the Toledo Mud Hens 7 to 9. "Close doesnit count in baseball. Close only counts in horseshoes and grenades."

Mike Mansfield, U.S. Ambassador to Japan. "Many Americans think that Japan is Japan Incorporated and I Prime Minister! Fukuda presses a button and he can get things done. It's not a true picture of the Japanese economic system."

## The Big Honda.

There is big, and there is big. So you may not think the Honda Accord is a big car. After all, it's only 162.8 inches long. And that's a good deal shorter than the Chevrolet Monza's 178.6 inches.

But the outside dimensions of a car don't always tell you how big it is inside. And that's where the Accord may surprise you.

Like all Hondas, the Accord has a transverse-mounted engine with front-wheel drive. This means the engine is tucked away up front, out of the way, and there is no drive shaft to the rear wheels. The space we save by this configuration is turned over to our passengers in the form of roominess and comfort.

With the rear seat folded down, the Accord converts to a roomy cargo carrier. Its hatchback design permits easy access to the fully-carpeted rear deck. And a lever by the driver's seat lets you release the hatch before you get out of the car.

Regardless of its size, the 1978 Honda Accord is definitely big on standard features. Its base sticker price includes an AM/FM radio, automatic maintenance reminder and electronic warning system, tachometer, steelbelted radial tires, rear window wiper, washer, and defroster, and

©1978 American Honda Motor Co., Inc

our CVCC engine, which runs on regular or unleaded gasoline.

Having mentioned gasoline, we should tell you that the Accord is big on mileage, too. With its standard 5-speed transmission it got 44 mpg for highway driving, 33 mpg city, according to EPA estimates. Of course, the actual mileage you get will vary depending on the type of driving you do, your driving habits, your car's condition and optional equipment. Mileage estimates are lower for California and high altitude cars.

Right here we would like to reassure you on one point. Although we fondly refer to the Accord as the Big Honda, it is only big by our standards. We don't build what are traditionally called big cars. And we don't intend to start.

A big car wouldn't be as simple to park as the Accord. Or as simple to maneuver in city traffic. And if we can't make it simple, we don't make it.



#### Art

#### Pictures from a Lost England

In London, Victorian curios

eople make noises about "Victorian morality" as a synonym for all those repressive forces that denied humanity its natural evolution toward Hustler magazine and Laurel Canyon group-gropes, but Victorian culture is still somewhat enigmatic. Nowhere is this truer than in painting. Modernism, the art of the past hundred years, defined itself in opposition to 19th century "bourgeois" painting: the art of the Salon in France, of the Royal Academy in England. Cézanne. Picasso and Matisse were everything that Sir Edwin Landseer, Sir Edward John Poynter and Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema were not and could not be. There was no way of judging the academicians by the standards of postimpressionism. You either execrated them and were on the side of history, or enjoyed them and missed the bus. The art the Victorians liked fell victim to the revolutionary mind. After Cézanne and Matisse were exhibited in London, the Royal Academicians complained about "Bolshevism in art." They were in a sense right. Within 20 years the Victorian subject-pictures had ceased to be the glory of English collections; they had become a storage problem, a social embarrassment, like certain White Russian exiles.

But nostalgia (plus an educated sense of cultural relativity) will bring anything back, and last week a fascinating exhibition entitled "Great Victorian Pictures: Their Paths to Fame," organized by Michael Harrison and Art Historian Rosemary Treble for the Arts Council of Great Britain, opened at the Royal Academy in London. There they are, together at last -John Everett Millais's Bubbles. Sir Edwin Landseer's Stag at Bay. George Frederick Watts' Hope. John Collier's The Prodigal Daughter and dozens more. Nothing could have seemed more secure than the fame and popularity of their authors: painters like Lord Leighton or, especially, Alma-Tadema (who, while working on one of his Imperial Roman story-pictures, had fresh roses shipped to him from the south of France weekly for four months to get the petals right) made untaxed fortunes, lived on a scale of grandeur that makes Picasso's seem ascetic. and attracted huge audiences. They were the grandfathers of the old-fashioned Hollywood spectacular: Watts' 1884-85 exhibition in New York was seen by half a million people

The Victorians produced the last genuinely popular form of contemporary art. They were also the last allegorists. When Leighton and Alma-Tadema painted antiquity, the comparison to Imperial England was never far away. In a didactic



Misfortune, from Egg's triptych (1858): adultery led to horrors that should not be painted

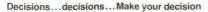
and moralizing culture, their pictures provided the last opportunity for people to extract information about history, and instruction as to conduct, from painting. The quintessence of such moralities was Augustus Leopold Egg's Past and Present, 1858, a triptych showing the results of adultery. The Victorians found the pic-



Alma-Tadema's Baths of Caracalla (1899)
If you enjoyed them, you missed the bus

ture gamier than we would "There must be a line drawn," trumpeted the art critic of the Athenaeum, when it went on view at the Royal Academy, "as to where the horrors that should not be painted for public and innocent sight begin, and we think Mr. Egg has put one foot at least beyond this line." It is hard to see how the century could have produced a more perfect combination of prudery and puzzle-painting, and generations of nostalgists have furtively enjoyed the profusion of symbolic detail that Egg crammed into his canvas. The prostrate wife's bracelets look like handcuffs, the chains of vice; the print on the wall above the children, those luminous Victorian innocents, depicts the expulsion of Adam and Eve from Paradise: their house of cards, emblematic of the frailty of domestic bliss, is falling down-for, close inspection reveals, it is constructed on top of a novel written by that suspect foreign realist Balzac

Felicity undermined by France: it was not. after all, a bad metaphor of the fate of Victorian painting itself. But if the style—serencyl served by its institutional support system of museums and dealers and critics. immensely popular, manifestly the voice of its time—could come apart so quickly and took like a curro so soon after Victoria's death of the course of the council of the course of



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Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

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#### **Books**



Drafting the Declaration of Independence: Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Livingston and Sherman

#### **Lost Language**

INVENTING AMERICA: JEFFERSON'S DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE by Garry Wills; Doubleday: 398 pages; \$10

The 18th century man, all calibration and catalogue, seems shaded by sinister, unscientific paradoxes. Thomas Jefferson proclaimed a "self-evident" truth that all men are created equal and yet owned slaves and may have kept one as his mistress for years, he was an aristocrat and elitist who was implicated in the most democratic enterprise the world had ever attempted, a sweet violinist of the manor who could write georgic poetry about revolution and blook.

The problems write Garry Wills usually lies not in defferon but to the anachronistic way that Americans have understood him and his greatest work: the Declaration of Independence The Declaration argue wills. "is written in the lost language of the Enlightenment it has passed through 200 years embalmed and misinterpreted, a sacred text enshirined an anal to il memorpherism." The best way that the problems of the best way to be a support of the problems of the best way that the problems of the way that the problems of the prob

Wills starts in Philadelphia Jefferson rode up alone to substitute for Peyton Randolph in the Virginia delegation to the Continental Congress "This marginal first appearance of the man is sometow typical He moved oddy in and out of the typical He moved oddy in and out of the own life, keeping a sky but observant dissume the tween binned fand his surroundings." For a man doing such heavy work in a forest of intellectual history, Wills keeps a lively eye. Washington and Jefferson were both lattle than 6 ft., "but Washington inhabited his height; seemed fall to those who thought Jefferson rather to lapsthle; all wrats and elbow." Sam Admis possessed "a curtiously modern arsenal of weipons—accurents, staged "tiskmanased news."

A columnist and author Nisson Againsteen Bare Russel Charst Wills has performed an amazing job of scholarship—a total immersion in the world that gave Jefferson's mind its contours in 1770 a fite pers. While other historians have tended to base their conclusions on Jefferson's attention of the person with the person of the

guage and assumptions with which he worked, the ideas and writers he admired.

worked, the ideas and writers he admired. Parsing the Declaration, the author sometimes labors like an exegetical exception of the source of the properties of the properties of the properties. Willsargues that Jefferson, fair from being the Lockean individualist that scholars and patrotic orators have assumed, believed in securitivity, testo affection, a religion of the heart rather than of the head. a sentimental spirit—grounded in sentimental spirit—grounded in sentimental spirit—grounded in sentimental spirit—grounded Society and the properties of the Society of the publishenment, like Francis Hutcheson and Thomas Reid, and their intellectual coussins on the Continent.

This is a warmer Jefferson than Americans are accustomed to it is also a far more precise man, one for whom phrases like "the purati of happiness" has been provided in the property of the puration of the puration of the puration of the measurable commodity, that in a seience of man, human life could be geared to natural law and to the intrinsicy and precision of the universe. Similarly, when Jefferson write that all men are created equal. Wills

#### Excerpt

My impression, gained from going through Jefferson's home many times . . . is not quite the same as Professor Peterson's What impressed the visitors ... was the 'Yankee' ingenuity of various tricks and utensils about the place, rather than the place itself. Doors opening by 'magic' if you touch but one of them. Other doors swinging food in. as the mantle quietly slips wine bottles up .... He had a Connecticut Yankee's engineering mind inside a Southern gentleman's frock coat. This superficially clashes with the popular image of him as a vague idealist. But that is what saves the image. He is the idealist as practical man-one who can make a plow or play a fiddle, though he was not 'practical' in the tawdry and capitalist sense He had the good taste not to be a good businessman

Actually, most of Jeffernors inventions were just copied from European models. And most cost him more time and effort than they saved The dittographer was always has home 'convenient' left his daughter and her children roofless, iving under canvas for long periods of remodeling. Too much attention to the house's jummeks can distract to the house's jummeks can distract which is perpage. Jefferson's most ruly Our promise is simple...we'll show you

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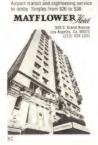
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#### **Books**

notion of equal opportunity but an exact uniformity in men's moral sense, a term that itself possessed exact meaning. The author argues that Jefferson included blacks in this equality of moral sense and therefore that he believed in racial equality. Neither Wills nor Jefferson's theory would have been very persuasive in the Monticello slave quarters.

sifesian never intended the Declaration to be a spiritual covenant. Wills series, even though it is precisely that function that it has served. At Cettysburg. Lincoln's "new nation, conceived in libery and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal" romanticized the Declaration into a new myth of the chosen people. Actually, the delegates in Philadelphia did not see themselves as citizens of the New Jerusslem. They were mainly tions to that the colonies, independent, could urgently negotiate some foreign and from France.



EVITA: FIRST LADY by John Barnes

Grove; 195 pages; \$8.95

During the 1940s one could tell the dictators and dictatees by their shirts. There were black ones for Mussolini's Fascists, brown ones for Hitler's National Socialists and a blousy peasant number that Joseph Stalin occasionally wore when he wanted to convince the world that he was just a country boy.

Argentini's Juan and Eva Peron gave a different winkle to the haberdashery of power Although they dressed like Napoleon and Josephine, they identified themselves with the descamisados, the shirtless poor who supported Peron from 1946-55. It was a classic case of gill by association Both Perons came up from the Solution Both Perons came up from the Solution against the upper classes provided vicarious thrills for the masses they left behind.

Peron was a farmer's son. Evita, as the crowd called her, was a third-rate actress with first-rate street smarts who worked her way up from the casting couch to the Pink House, the traditional seat of Argenta's First Family. When she died in 1952 of cancer at the age of 33, the bereated of concernation of the control of

John Barness hography amplifies the popular and properly and provided the properly and provided the properly and provided the provided



Eva Perón at peak power, 1947
From casting couch to the Pink House

der her direction, the wealth was spread Once a union became solidly Peronist, its workers could look forward to huge wage increases. Evita also controlled the 5 million-member General Confederation of Labor, whose figurehead leader had been a hall porter at her old apartment building.

Her Social Aid Foundation, Barnes documents, was gorged with millions of unrecorded dollars, "gifts" from industrialists and chambermaids. She humiliated the aristocratic families that had snubbed her on the way up and bought the affection of the crowd with widely publicized and much needed charities.

She also attempted to secure her own future by stiffing a Swiss bank vault with cash and flaunting one of the world's most valuable (and taseless collections of jewelry. East death deprived Peron of her much needed political pillow sale. His heavy handedness and arrogance went unbecked. He foolishy attacked the church and caused outrage by taking a 15-year house of the other world of the church and caused outrage by taking a 15-year of the affair with the remark that he was not superstitious. He lasted until 1935, when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a completed him when the army toppled him in a complete him should be a subject to the complete when the army toppled him in a complete him a complete him a complete him when the complete him a comp

Today Peronism is brutally suppressed by Argentina's military government yet the mystique of Juan and Eva continues She, especially, has achieved an international moment of posthumous pop stardom. Evita. a musical based on her life, is now a hit in London, and will probably be brought to Bradway.

Biographer Barnes a journalist who covered Lain America before becoming a Los Angeles-based correspondent for the London Sunday Times, treats his subject both forthrightly and fairly. In flet, he is not entirely unsympathetic. The sources of Eva's greeds, hates and demagogic passions are too real to dismiss. Sad is an adjective that often appears in front of Argentina, and this

book shows why

#### Books

#### **Elementary**

THE LAST SHERLOCK HOLMES

by Michael Dibdin Pantheon: 192 pages; \$7.95

SHERI OCK HOLMES VS. DRACULA by Loren D. Estleman Doubleday, 214 pages, \$7.95

t was on a damp October night in 18the chimney. In those days Sherlock

Holmes kept a child in the chimney for comparison purposes 'Yes, Watson," he remarked paradoxically. "the future can be discerned

It is the past that is hidden "Great Scott!" I expostulated "How

did you read my mind? He puffed upon his underslung pipe When I see a man shuffling a tarot deck. certain conclusions become manifest

-the first of which is that you are wasting your time with occult twaddle My protest was unavailing Holmes helped himself to a drink from the gasogene. Using nothing but logic one can

follow today's events and see deep into the next century. Of course, you have only Your word is like another man's

paragraph." I assured him Very well then By the 70s I will

have become an industry, the star of countless films and books Nicholas Meymake me the client

and Sigmund Freud the detective

1978, a London writ er named Michael The Last Sherlock Holmes Story, pitting me against the 1888

slaver of harlots. Jack the Ripper." A novel idea. Holmes.

"More like a short story. Watson, And hardly new A Mr. Ellery Queen will have already written A Study in Terror in 1966. postulating that Jack was an aristocrat named the Duke of Shires Other literature will theorize that the killer was a Scotland Yard inspector or a member of the royal family

Shocked. I gulped my brandy. Even though I was immortal. I wasn't getting any younger

"In the same year." Holmes went on. 'a young American novelist. Mr Loren D Estleman. 25. will publish Sherlock Holmes vs. Dracula.

But you have already annihilated such creatures in the Adventure of the Sussex Vampire.

evertheless, if a man goes to bat for me, the least I can do is listen to his tale. And, in point of fact, both Dibdin and Estleman observe the law. grant them that As the mystery writer Dorothy Savers will write of the Sherlockian pastiche. The rule of the game is that it must be played as solemnly as a county cricket match at Lord's "Neither writer mocks, both stories are formal Both will have readers clued to their seats. But face it, old fellow your speech is pathetically easy to echo

I remonstrated he echoed my tone The Dracula tale said Holmes.

stretches credulity to the breaking point monster was one step ahead of me as usual. The fiend would

never have been a step ahead

'As for the Ripper book, the thing is a well-plotted psychodrama with a denouement as sacrilegious as the title is misleading There will always be one more Sherlock Holmes story Remember, even Conan Doyle was not able to kill me. He brought me back from the grave after 'death' at the Reichenbach falls. But all the later stories, like these two novels, were not quite up to my former standard.

Perhaps it's as Doyle wrote about his severest critic." I mused "A Cornish fisherman once told the author. Sherlock may not have killed himself falling over that cliff But he did injure himself something terrible. He's never been the same

The world's most illustrious consulting detective merely indicated his file of brilliantly solved cases. "I prefer the comment of Her Majesty as to my durability Be he ever so humble there's no police like Holmes." - Stefan Kanfer

#### **Editors' Choice**

FICTION: Final Payments. Mars Goodon . Innocent Evenders and Other Stories. Gabriel Garcia Marquez • Shosha Isaac Bashevis Singer . The Execution of Mayor Yin. Chen Jo-hsr . The Left-Handed Woman Peter Handke . The World According to Crarp. John Irving

NONFICTION: A Place for Neah Josh Greenfeld . Congo Diary and Other First Person Rural. Voel Perron Reflections Walter Benjamin Russian Thinkers Isaiah Berlin The Cruian Archipelago III

#### **Best Sellers**

#### FICTION

- 1 Scruples Krantz (4 last week)
  - Bloodline Sheldon (1)
- 3 The Holeroft Covenant
- 5 Chesapeake Michenes 06:
- 6 Stamed Glass, Buckley 6
- 7 The Last Convertible, Wirer 19.
- 8 Lyc of the Needle Follett (8)
- 9 The Human Factor, Greene 17
- NONFICTION

- 1 The Complete Book of Running.
- 2 If Use Is a Bowl of Cherries
- Ronheck (/ ) 3 Pulling Your Own Strings Dier 11
- 5 My Mother My Self Ferday 4.
- 6 R > The Memoirs of Richard
- 7 Running and Being, Sheehan (2)
- 8 Metropolitan Life Lebourte 191 9 Conomes Huveen & Poortyliet 48.
- Makeover Shapeover Beauty



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—Barbara Bannon, Publishers Weekly

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# Dan Rather would like to have been around during Teapot Domegate!



CBS News' Rather was White House Correspondent under Johnson and Nixon, But when asked which of all our Presidents he'd most like to have covered, he names Jefferson and Lincoln, and then adds Harding. Why? Because "there were several first-rate stories-Teapot Dome, to name just one! I'd like to think I'd have been alert enough to pick up on them." Rather picks up on today's prime stories in incisive analysis every weekend. On CBS Radio.

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#### Cinema

#### Oh, Yes! Oh, No!

SGT. PEPPER'S LONELY HEARTS CLUB BAND Directed by Michael Schultz Screenplay by Henry Edwards

Someone sew a couple of buttons on Peter Frampton's shirt, and we can get on with this (Yes, male décolletage is OK. No, male décolletage is OK. No, male décolletage is not O.K.; he lacks a serious thorax). What we have is an impudent attempt to filmify and cinemogrificate a collection of old Beatlest sunes, most of them from the marvelous 1967 LP Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band.

The record is still an amazing con-



Peter Frampton in Sgt. Pepper A one-week rise to stardom.

cotion. In one more or less coordinated outpouring, it brought together songs that seemed to belong in an old British music hall (Sgr. Pepper itself, and When I'm 64), druggle exhorations and psychedelic visions (Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds), loving mockery of the middle class (She's Leaving Home), a strange, jingly vision of evil (4 Day in the Life).

The only coherence was that of mood, but the songs leaked suggestive bits of near-meaning that made beyond-sense, especially when heard through a chemical fog. Re-creating this fog in a film is what Director Michael Schultz and Producer Robert Stigwood have tried to do, and, given the \$12 million budget they had, it was inevitable that they would try too hard.

The film's conceit is that the original Sgt. Pepper and his three sidemen were heroic World War I bandsmen who returned to their town of Heartland and, after full lives, bequeathed their instruments to the four little boys who would grow up to become the second Sgt. Pepper band. These are Frampton, a sweet-faced youth with witted blond hair, and Barry, Robin and Maurice Gibb, the brothers who are the Bee Gess.

George Burns, who does an agreeable turn as Mr. Kite, the mayor of Heartland, explains that the idea of a second band worried everyone: "We didn't know how they would sound." Well, they sound all right, enough like the Beatles to be respectful, enough not like them to take note of the eleven years that have sone by.

The action of the movie has he Heartland boys whipped off to Hollywood and exposed, poor things, to the temptation of Big Bucks. There is a sphendidy absurd contract-signing orgy, involving some expensive and schizophrenic kidding of the rock world's overdose of money, and soon Frampton has forgotten all about Strawberry Fields (Sandy Farian, the sapply beautiful girl back home. The strawberry beautiful girl back home. The strawberry beautiful girl back home. The strawberry beautiful girl back home.

The Bee Gees are fresh and lively. Frampton is awful, but since the entire film is camp, and camp camped, awfulness is something to be mined. Things move fast for the first 50 minutes and the audience's reaction is "Oh, yes!" For the last 60 minutes it becomes "Oh, no!" It is not hard to figure out why: too many big names were signed up and had to be used. A few of them: Frankie Howerd as Mean Mr. Mustard; Steve Martin doing his Ronny Graham imitation as he sings Maxwell's Silver Hammer; Billy Preston; a very puzzled-looking Alice Cooper and such rock groups as Aerosmith and Earth. Wind & Fire "Too much!" was an expression of wonder and admiration in the '60s, but this seems no longer to be true. A theaterful of young people at the invitational screening attended by this reviewer booed the film off the screen - John Skow

#### Chevy's Chase

FOUL PLAY
Directed and Written by Colin Higgins

On would not call it an auspicious motion picture debut. Just twice in the course of this infinite movie—a comedymystery into which someone forgot to put the comedy—does Chevy Chase get to do his famous impersonation of a klutz. One time he knocks over some glassware who for the company of the company of chieffiches and the company of the force of the company of pangplank into a river just after warning gangplank into a river just after warning hawn that it is slippery. At no other point is he given anything even remotely funny to say or do. It is hard to remember when a talented comic had fewer moments of risibility. He should thank his genes for the natural ease and charm he has to fall back upon. They allow him to sink bemusedly into the scenery without recourse to the desperation moves a lesser man might try. As a result Chase will doubtless live to fight for a life upon the silver screen at least one more day.

The caper he is entangled in, playing a detective, sugary he is entangled in, playing a detective, a detective, and active of a detective of the control of

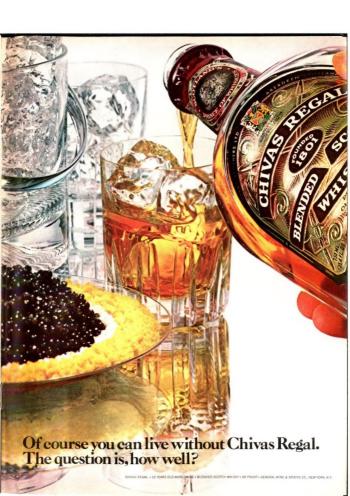


Chase and Hawn in Foul Play
A fall off a slippery gangplank.

2) something big is going on. Finally, of course, unavoidable evidence develops, and we cut to the chase. Alas, Director Colin Higgins has no higher skill in staging action than he does in inventing original comic situations. The most he can manage is some vulgar shock effects and a few Hitchcok rip-offs.

In a dispiriting film, the saddest moments belong to Dudley Moore, who plays a frustrated sex fiend whom Hawn keeps coming across. He is desperate for laughs, and Higgins, is frantic to provide them, but to no—or at least embarrassing —avail. Higgins was the author of the

popular Silver Streak: if you didn't realize it then, you will surely now understand how great was his debt to resourceful Richard Pryor for saving that similarly noisy and tasteless venture. Higgins should not make a move without him. — Richard Schickel



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